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THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

BY

BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ. F.R.S. S.A.

WITH

A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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BOOK IV.

PRESENT INHABITANTS.

CHAPTER I.

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CHAP. I.

THE present state (1791) of the population in the British West Indies appears, on a summary of the several accounts given in former parts of this work, to be as follows, viz.

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	Whites.	Blacks.
Jamaica -	30,000 -	250,000
Barbadoes -	16,167 -	62,115
Grenada -	1,000 -	23,926
St. Vincent -	1,450 -	11,853
Dominica -	1,236 -	14,967
Antigua -	2,590 -	37,808
Montserat -	1,300 -	10,000
Nevis -	1,000 -	8,420
St. Christopher's	1,900 -	20,435
Virgin Isles -	1,200 -	9,000
Bahamas -	2,000 -	2,241
Bermudas -	5,462 -	4,919
Total -	65,305	455,684

There is likewise in each of the islands a considerable number of persons of mixed blood, and Native Blacks of free condition. In Jamaica they are reckoned, as we have shewn, at ten thousand; and I have reason to believe they do not fall short of the same number in all the other islands collectively taken. The whole inhabitants therefore may properly be divided into four great classes. 1. European Whites; 2. Creole or Native Whites; 3. Creoles of mixed blood, and free Native Blacks; 4. Negroes in a state of slavery. I shall treat of each class separately; premising, however, that there are persons not comprehended in either class; such as

emigrants from North America, and a considerable body of Jews. In Jamaica, the latter enjoy almost every privilege possessed by the Christian Whites, excepting only the right of voting at elections; of being returned to serve in the assembly, and of holding any office of magistracy; but they have the liberty of purchasing and holding lands, as freely as any other people; and they are likewise allowed the public exercise of their religion; for which purpose they have erected two or more synagogues; and I have not heard that Jamaica has had any reason to repent of her liberality towards them. As, however, they differ but little in manners and customs from the rest of their nation which are dispersed in all the countries of Europe, I shall pass them by without further detail. The other White Inhabitants, not comprehended in this enumeration, are too few to merit particular notice.*

It may reasonably be supposed that most of

* The following account of the White Inhabitants, Free-Negroes, and Slaves, in the French West Indies, may serve to gratify curiosity. It is taken from the authority of Mons. Neckar; but I have reason to think that the Negro Slaves are nearly doubled in the French Islands since this account was taken.

	Whites.	Free Blacks, &c.	Slaves.
St. Domingo, in 1779	32,650	3,055	249,098
Martinico, in 1776	11,619	892,8	71,268
Guadaloupe, in 1779	13,261	1,382	85,327

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the natives of Europe who emigrate to the West Indies, remove thither with the hope of receiving greater encouragement to their abilities and industry than has offered at home. Yet let it not be imagined that the major, or even any considerable part of them are desperate and needy adventurers, who seek refuge from a prison, or expatriate themselves in the fond idea of living luxuriously without labour. These islands give but little countenance to idleness, nor offer any asylum to vagabonds and fugitives. Many of the British Colonies were originally composed of men, who sought, in the wilderness of the New World, the peaceable enjoyment of those natural or supposed rights of which they were deprived in their native country. I extend this description to persons of opposite political sentiments and connections, to loyalists as well as to republicans: for it is hoped that some of each party were men whose principles were honest, though their conduct might have been wrong. The advocates of loyalty sought refuge chiefly in Barbadoes, and

St. Lucia, in 1776	2,397	1,050	10,752
Tobago, supposed to be nearly the same as St. Lucia	2,397	1,050	10,752
Cayenne, in 1780	1,358	—	10,539
	63,682	13,429	437,736

many of the adherents of Cromwell, after the restoration of Charles II. found protection in Jamaica. At present, among the numbers whom accident or choice conduct to the British West Indies, the juniors in the learned professions of law, physic, and divinity, constitute a considerable body. These men ought to be, and, generally speaking, really are, persons of education and morals. Few places afford greater encouragement to the first and second of these employments; and, as ability is fostered and called forth by exercise, no part of the British dominion has, in my opinion, produced abler men in either (in proportion to their number) than these islands. Local prejudice, and bigotry towards great names, may perhaps incline some persons to dispute this assertion; but, prejudice and bigotry apart, it will be found, I believe, that Nature has distributed the gifts of genius more equally and generally than is commonly imagined: it is cultivation and favour that ripen and bring them to perfection. The British navy and army likewise contribute considerably to the augmentation of the White inhabitants. Individuals in both these professions, either from the inducement of agreeable connections, which it would be strange if many of them did not form in a long residence in these countries, or captivated by the new prospects which open to their contemplation, very frequently quit the

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business of arms, and the dangers of a tempestuous element, and become peaceful citizens and industrious planters. Next to these may be reckoned the mercantile part of the inhabitants, such as factors, store-keepers, book-keepers, and clerks; who are followed by tradesmen and artificers of various kinds, such as mill-wrights, carpenters, masons, coppersmiths, and others; most of whom, either through accident or necessity, after some years residence, become adventurers in the soil. Then come the husbandmen or cultivators of the land, professedly such; who are commonly distinguished by the appellation of managers, overseers, and plantation book-keepers; and they constitute a numerous body of people, composed of men of all countries and characters; for, unfortunately, every enterprising adventurer, who has either learned no particular trade, or has been brought up to one which is useless in these regions, fancies himself capable of speedily acquiring all the various knowledge of the sugar planter, and the right management and government of his fellow-creatures, the Negroes; though in truth a more weighty charge in itself, and one more important in its consequences, can scarcely fall to the lot of man.

I have, I think, in a former place, assigned the causes to which it is partly ascribable that emigrants from various parts of the mother-

country, successively constitute the bulk of the sugar colonists; of whom it is certain that the major part retain, in a considerable degree, the manners and habits of life in which they were educated. Yet there are authors who affect to describe the inhabitants of all the West Indies as a herd of criminals and convicts; and cite the stale crimes and violences of lawless men, a century ago, when these islands were the rendezvous of pirates and bucaniers, as a just representation of the reigning colonial habits, manners and dispositions!

Calumnies so gross, defeat themselves by their absurdity;—but although it is in the highest degree ridiculous to imagine that a voyage across the Atlantic creates any sudden or radical change in the human mind, yet, notwithstanding what has been just observed concerning local manners and habits in the different classes of European settlers, it cannot be denied that there prevails besides, something of a marked and predominant character common to all the White residents.

Of this character it appears to me that the leading feature is an independent spirit, and a display of conscious equality throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest White person seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand,

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and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It arises, without doubt, from the pre-eminence and distinction which are necessarily attached even to the complexion of a White Man, in a country where the complexion, generally speaking, distinguishes freedom from slavery. Of the two great classes of people in most of these colonies, the Blacks outnumber the Whites in the proportion of seven to one. As a sense of common safety therefore unites the latter in closer ties than are necessary among men who are differently situated, so the same circumstance necessarily gives birth among them to reciprocal dependance and respect. Other causes contribute to the same end. "Where slavery," says a great judge of human nature, "is established in "any part of the world, those who are free are "by far the most proud and jealous of their free-"dom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoy-"ment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not "seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where "it is a common blessing, may be united with "much abject toil, with great misery, with all "the exterior of servitude, liberty looks among "them like something that is more noble and "liberal. Thus the people of the southern colo-"nies (of America) are much more strongly, and

" with a higher and more stubborn spirit attached to liberty, than those to the northward. " Such were all the ancient commonwealths; " such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our " days are the Poles; and such will be all masters " of slaves, who are not slaves themselves."*

Possibly too, the climate itself, by increasing sensibility, contributes to create an impatience of subordination. But, whatever may be the cause of this consciousness of self-importance in the West Indian character, the consequences resulting from it are, on the whole, beneficial. If it sometimes produces an ostentatious pride, and a ridiculous affectation of splendour, it more frequently awakens the laudable propensities of our nature—frankness, sociability, benevolence, and generosity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hospitality more generally prevalent than in the British Sugar Islands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his guests. To be a stranger is of itself a sufficient introduction. This species of hospitality is indeed carried so far, that, as Mr. Long has remarked, there is not one tolerable inn throughout all the West Indies.†

* Burke's Speech in Parliament, March 22, 1775.

† There are some peculiarities in the habits of life of the White Inhabitants, which cannot fail to catch the eye of an European newly arrived; one of which is the contrast between the general plenty and magnificence of their tables

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To the same cause may perhaps be ascribed, on the other hand, that eagerness for litigation and juridical controversy, which so remarkably predominates in most of these islands. From this unfortunate passion, ruinous as it frequently proves to individuals, this advantage however results to the community at large; that the lower orders of men, from their frequent attendance at the courts of law as jurymen, acquire

(at least in Jamaica) and the meanness of their houses and apartments; it being no uncommon thing to find, at the country habitations of the planters, a splendid sideboard loaded with plate and the choicest wines, a table covered with the finest damask, and a dinner of perhaps sixteen or twenty covers; and all this in a hovel not superior to an English barn. A stranger cannot fail also to observe a strange incongruity and inconsistency between the great number of Negro domestics, and their appearance and apparel. The butler (and he but seldom) is the only attendant that is allowed the luxury of shoes and stockings. All the others, and there is commonly one to each guest, wait at table in *barefooted majesty*; some of them perhaps half-naked. Another peculiarity in the manners of the English in the West Indies (in Jamaica especially) is the number of nautical expressions in their conversation. Thus they say, *hand such a thing*, instead of bring or give it. A plantation well stocked with Negroes, is said to be *well handed*; an office or employment is called *a birth*; the kitchen is denominated the *cook-room*; a warehouse is called a *store*, or *store-room*; a sopha is called *a cot*; a waistcoat is termed *a jacket*; and in speaking of the East and West, they say to *windward* and *leeward*. This language has probably prevailed since the days of the bucaniers.

a degree of knowledge, and a clearness and precision of reasoning, which are not generally to be found in men of the same rank in England. Thus the petty juries in the West Indies are commonly far more intelligent and respectable than those in Great Britain. Every candid person who has attended the courts of criminal jurisdiction in both countries must confirm this observation.

But it is to the Creoles or Natives that we must look for the original and peculiar cast of character impressed by the climate, if indeed the influence of climate be such as many writers imagine. For myself, I am of opinion that the climate of the West Indies displays itself more strongly on the persons of the natives than on their manners, or on the faculties of their minds. They are obviously a taller race, on the whole, than the Europeans; but I think in general not proportionably robust. I have known several who were full six feet four inches in height; but they wanted bulk to meet our ideas of masculine beauty. All of them, however, are distinguished for the freedom and suppleness of their joints; which enable them to move with great ease and agility, as well as gracefulness, in dancing. From the same cause they excel in penmanship, and the use of the small sword. It has been truly observed, that the effect of climate is likewise obvious in the structure of

the eye, the socket being considerably deeper than among the natives of Europe. By this conformation, they are guarded from those ill effects which an almost continual strong glare of sunshine might otherwise produce; and it is a curious circumstance, that their skin feels considerably colder than that of a European; a proof, I think, that nature has contrived some peculiar means of protecting them from the heat, which she has denied to the nations of temperate regions, as unnecessary. Accordingly, though their mode of living differs in no respect from that of the European residents, they are rarely obnoxious to those inflammatory disorders which frequently prove fatal to the latter.

The ladies of these islands have indeed greater cause to boast of this fortunate exemption than the men; a pre-eminence acquired undoubtedly by the calm and even tenour of their lives, and by an habitual temperance and self-denial. Except the exercise of dancing, in which they delight and excel, they have no amusement or avocation to impel them to much exertion of either body or mind. Those midnight assemblies and gambling conventions, wherein health, fortune, and beauty, are so frequently sacrificed in the cities of Europe, are here happily unknown. In their diet, the Creole women are, I think, abstemious even to a fault. Simple water, or lemonade, is the strongest beverage

in which they indulge; and a vegetable mess at noon, seasoned with cayenne pepper, constitutes their principal repast. The effect of this mode of life, in a hot and oppressive atmosphere, is a lax fibre, and a complexion in which the lily predominates rather than the rose. To a stranger newly arrived, the ladies appear as just risen from the bed of sickness. Their voice is soft and spiritless, and every step betrays languor and lassitude. With the finest persons, they certainly want that glow of health in the countenance, that delicious crimson (*lumen purpureum juventæ*) which, in colder countries, enlivens the coarsest set of features, and renders a beautiful one irresistible.

> Youth's orient bloom, the blush of chaste desire,
> The sprightly converse, and the cmile divine,
> (Love's gentler train) to milder slimes retire,
> And full in Albion's matchless daughters shine.

In *one* of the principal features of beauty, however, few ladies surpass the Creoles; for they have, in general, the finest eyes of any women in the world; large, languishing, and expressive; sometimes beaming with animation, and sometimes melting with tenderness; a sure index to that native goodness of heart and gentleness of disposition for which they are eminently and deservedly applauded, and to which, combined with their system of life and manners

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(sequestered, domestic, and unobtrusive) it is doubtless owing, that no women on earth make better wives, or better mothers.*

Perhaps, the circumstance most distinguishable in the character of the Natives to which the climate seems to contribute, is the early display of the mental powers in young children; whose quick perception, and rapid advances in knowledge, exceed those of European infants of the same age, in a degree that is perfectly unaccountable and astonishing. This circumstance is indeed too striking to have escaped the notice of any one writer who has visited the tropical parts of America; and the fact being too well established to be denied, the philosophers of Europe have consoled themselves with an idea that, as the genius of the young West Indians attains sooner to maturity, it declines more rapidly than that of Europeans. Nature is supposed to act in this case in a manner analogous to her operations in the vegetable kingdom, where the trees that come soonest to perfection, are at the same time less firm and durable than those which require more time for the completion of their grouth. It is indeed certain,

* The Creole ladies are noted for very fine teeth, which they preserve and keep beautifully white by a constant use of the juice of a withe called the Chew-stick; a species of *rhamnus*. It is cut into small pieces, and used as a tooth-brush. The juice is a strong bitter, and a powerful detergent.

that the subsequent acquirements of the mind in the Natives do not always keep pace with its early progress; but the chief cause (as Ulloa hath observed) of the short duration of such promising beginnings, seems to be the want of proper objects for exercising the faculties. The propensity also, which the climate undoubtedly encourages, to early and habitual licentiousness, induces a turn of mind and disposition unfriendly to mental improvement. Among such of the Natives as have happily escaped the contagion and enervating effects of youthful excesses, men are found of capacities as strong and permanent as among any people whatever.

As I cannot therefore admit that the Creoles in general possess less capacity and stability of mind than the natives of Europe, much less can I allow that they fall short of them in those qualities of the heart which render man a blessing to all around him. Generosity to each other, and a high degree of compassion and kindness towards their inferiors and dependents, distinguish the Creoles in a very honourable manner.* If they are proud, their pride is

"* Adventurers from Europe are universally more cruel "and morose towards the Slaves than the Creoles or "Native West-Indians."

Ramsay, Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of the Slaves, &c.

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allied to no meanness. Instructed from their infancy to entertain a very high opinion of their own consequence, they are cautious of doing any act which may lessen the consciousness of their proper dignity. From the same cause they scorn every species of concealment. They have a frankness of disposition beyond any people on earth. Their confidence is unlimited and entire. Superior to falsehood themselves, they suspect it not in others.

How far this nobleness of disposition may be ascribed to the influence of a genial climate, and how far to education and example, I presume not to discriminate. The effects of heat on the body are sufficiently visible; but perhaps philosophers have relied too much on a supposed sympathy between the body and mind. "The natives of hot climates" (says one writer) "are slothful and timid;" but timidity is by no means the necessary consequence of indolence. The mind may require great force to rouse it to due exertion; but, being properly urged, may display qualities very opposite to those of a timid disposition. At least, timidity constitutes no part of the character of the natives of the British West Indies. Indolence, I admit, is too predominant among them; but that they are deficient in personal courage, no man, who has the smallest acquaintance with them will allow for a moment.

Even the indolence of which they are accused, is rather an aversion to serious thought and deep reflection, than a slothfulness and sluggishness of nature. Both sexes, when the springs of the mind are once set in motion, are remarkable for a warm imagination and a high flow of spirits. There seems indeed universally to reign among them a promptitude for pleasure. This effect has been ascribed, and perhaps justly, to the levity of the atmosphere.* To the same cause is commonly imputed the propensity observable in most of the West Indians to indulge extravagant ideas of their riches; to view their circumstances through a magnifying medium, and to feast their fancies on what another year will effect. This anticipation of imaginary wealth is so prevalent as to become justly ridiculous; yet I am inclined to think it is a propensity that exists independent of the climate and atmosphere, and that it arises principally from the peculiar situation of the West Indian planters as land-holders. Not having like the proprietors of landed estates in Great Britain, frequent opportunities of letting their plantations to substantial tenants, they are, for the most part, compelled to become practical farmers on their own lands, of which the returns are, in the highest degree, fluctuat-

* Moseley on the Climate of the West-Indies.

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ing and uncertain. Under these circumstances, a West-Indian property is a species of lottery, and as such, it gives birth to a spirit of adventure and enterprise, and awakens extravagant hopes and expectations;—too frequently terminating in perplexity and disappointment.

Such are the few observations which I have noted concerning the character, disposition, and manners of the White inhabitants of these islands. I proceed now to persons of mixed blood (usually termed *People of Colour)* and Native Blacks of free condition. Of the former, all the different classes, or varieties, are not easily discriminated. In the British West Indies they are commonly known by the names of *Samboes*, *Mulattoes*, *Quadroons*, and *Mestizes*;* but the Spaniards, from whom these appellations are borrowed, have many other and much nicer distinctions, of which the following account is given by Don Anthonio de Ulloa,

* A *Sambo* is the offspring of a Black Woman by a Mulatto Man, or *vice versa*.

Mulatto — — of a Black Woman by a White Man.

Quadroon — — of a Mulatto Woman by a White Man.

Mestize or Mustee — of a Quadroon Woman by a White Man.

The offspring of a Mestize by a White Man are white by law. A Mestize therefore in our islands is, I suppose, the *Quinteron* of the Spaniards.

in his description of the inhabitants of Carthagena:

"Among the tribes which are derived from an intermixture of the Whites with the Negroes, the first are the *Mulattoes*; next to these are the *Tercerones*, produced from a White and a Mulatto, with some approximation to the former, but not so near as to obliterate their origin. After these, follow the *Quarterones*, proceeding from a White and a Terceron. The last are the Quinterons, who owe their origin to a White and Quarteron. This is the last gradation, there being no visible difference between them and the Whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often fairer than the Spaniards. The children of a White and Quinteron consider themselves as free from all taint of the Negro race. Every person is so jealous of the order of their tribe or cast, that if through inadvertence, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended. Before they attain the class of the *Quinterones*, there are several intervening circumstances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the Negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call *Samboes*, owing their origin to a mixture between one of these with an Indian, or among themselves. Betwixt the Tercerones and Mulattoes, the Quarterones and the Tercerones,

&c. are those called *Tente en el Ayre, Suspended in the air;* because they neither advance nor recede. Children, whose parents are a Quarteron or Quinteron, and a Mulatto or Terceron, are *Salto atras retrogrados;* because, instead of advancing towards being Whites, they have gone backwards towards the Negro race. The children between a Negro and a Quinteron, are called Sambos de Negro, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c."

In Jamaica, and I believe in the rest of our Sugar Islands, the descendants of Negroes by White people, entitled by birth to all the rights and liberties of White subjects in the full extent, are such as are above three steps removed in lineal digression from the Negro venter. All below this, whether called Mestizes, Quadroons, or Mulattoes, are deemed by law Mulattoes.

Anciently there was a distinction in Jamaica between such of these people as were born of freed mothers (the maxim of the civil law, *partus sequitur ventrem*, prevailing in all our colonies) and such as had been immediately released from slavery by deed or testament of their owners. While the former were allowed a trial by jury in criminal cases, the latter were tried in the same way as the common slaves, by two justices and three freeholders. Neither were the latter admitted as evidences against

free-born persons, until the year 1748, when an act was passed in their favour, putting both classes on the same footing.

At the same time, the legal capacities which they possessed were very imperfectly defined: The Mulattoes were allowed no other privilege than the freed Negroes, concerning whom (few of them being baptized, or supposed to be sensible of the nature of an oath) the courts of law interpreted the act of manumission by the owner, as nothing more than an abandonment or release of his own proper authority over the person of the slave, which did not, and could not, convey to the object of his bounty the civil and political rights of a natural-born subject; and the same principle was applied to the issue of freed mothers, until after the third generation from the Negro ancestor.

The principal incapacities to which these people are now subject, as distinct from the Whites, are these;

First; In most of the British Islands, their evidence is not received in criminal cases against a White person, nor even against a person of Colour, in whose favour a particular act has been passed by the legislature. In this respect they seem to be placed on a worse footing than the enslaved Negroes, who have masters that are interested in their protection, and who, if

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their slaves are maltreated, have a right to recover damages, by an action on the case.*

Secondly; They are denied the privilege of being eligible to serve in parochial vestries and general assemblies; or of acting in any office of public trust, even so low as that of a constable; neither are they permitted to hold commissions even in the Black and Mulatto companies of militia. They are precluded also from voting at elections of members to serve in the assembly. It may be urged, however, that the laws of England require baptism, and a certain degree of property, in similar cases.

Thirdly; By an act of the assembly of Jamaica, passed in the year 1762, it is enacted, that a testamentary devise from a White person to a Negro or Mulatto, not born in wedlock, of real or personal estate, exceeding in value 2,000*l.* currency, shall be void, and the property descend to the heir at law.

As some counterbalance however to these restrictions, the assembly, on proper application, is readily enough inclined to pass private acts, granting the privileges of White people, with some limitations, to such persons of Colour as have been regularly baptized, and properly edu-

* In Jamaica, this grievance has been partly redressed since the publication of the former editions.

cated. On the same ground, private bills are sometimes passed to authorize gentlemen of fortune, under particular circumstances, to devise their estates to their reputed Mulatto children, notwithstanding the act of 1762.

But there is this mischief arising from the system of rigour ostensibly maintained by the laws against this unfortunate race of people; that it tends to degrade them in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the community to which they belong. This is carried so far, as to make them at once wretched to themselves, and useless to the public. It very frequently happens that the lowest White person, considering himself as greatly superior to the richest and best-educated Free man of Colour, will disdain to associate with a person of the latter description; treating him as the Egyptians treated the Israelites, with whom they held it *an abomination to eat bread.* To this evil, arising from public opinion, no partial interposition of the legislature in favour of individuals, affords an effectual remedy; and the consequence is, that instead of a benefit, these unhappy people are a burthen and a reproach to society. They have no motives of sufficient efficacy either to engage them in the service of their country, or in profitable labour for their own advantage. Their progress in civility and knowledge is animated by no encourage-

ment; their attachment is received without approbation; and their diligence exerted without reward.*

I am happy however to assert with truth, that their fidelity and loyalty have hitherto remained unimpeached and unsuspected. To the Negroes they are objects of envy and hatred; for the same or a greater degree of superiority which the Whites assume over *them*, the free Mulattoes lay claim to over the Blacks.

* It would surely be a wise and humane law that should grant to every free Negro and Mulatto the right of being a competent witness, in all criminal cases and more especially in those of personal injury to himself.*—Perhaps indeed it might be proper to require of such persons the proof of baptism, and the ability to read and write; and I think that some useful regulations might be made to apportion greater privileges to the coloured people according to their approximation to the Whites; a system which would not serve to confound, but to keep up and render useful, those distinctions which local causes have created, and which it is not in the power of man to abolish. To the Quadroons and Mestizes for instance (who possess the necessary qualification in *real* property) I would grant the right of voting for representatives in the assembly. Such a privilege would give them an interest in the community, and attach them powerfully to its government. In favour of such persons also, the act of 1762 might be modified. Whether it would be wise to repeal it altogether, is a deep and difficult question. Men who are unacquainted with local manners and customs, are not competent to pronounce an opinion in this case.

* The Assembly of Jamaica have lately granted this privilege to the freed people in that Island.

These, again, abhor the idea of being slaves to the descendants of slaves. Thus circumstanced, the general character of the Mulattoes is strongly marked by the peculiarity of their situation; and I cannot but think that they are, on the whole, objects of favour and compassion.

In their deportment towards the White people they are humble, submissive, and unassuming. Their spirits seem to sink under the consciousness of their condition. They are accused however of proving bad masters when invested with power; and their conduct towards their slaves is said to be in a high degree harsh and imperious. I suspect there is some truth in this representation; for it is the general characteristic of human nature, that men whose authority is most liable to be disputed, are the most jealous of any infringement of it, and the most vigilant in its support.

The accusation generally brought against the free people of colour, is the incontinency of their women; of whom, such as are young, and have tolerable persons, are universally maintained by White men of all ranks and conditions, as kept mistresses. The fact is too notorious to be concealed or controverted; and I trust I have too great an esteem for my fair readers, and too high a respect for myself, to stand forth the advocate of licentiousness and debauchery. Undoubtedly, the conduct of

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many of the Whites in this respect, is a violation of all decency and decorum; and an insult and injury to society. Let it not offend any modest ear, however, if I add my opinion, that the unhappy females here spoken of, are much less deserving reproach and reprehension than their keepers. I say this, from considering their education and condition in life; for such are the unfortunate circumstances of their birth, that not one in fifty of them is taught to write or read. Profitable instruction therefore, from those who are capable of giving it, is withheld from them; and unhappily, the young men of their own complexion are in too low a state of degradation to think of matrimony. On the other hand, no White man of decent appearance, unless urged by the temptation of a considerable fortune, will condescend to give his hand in marriage to a Mulatto! The very idea is shocking. Thus, excluded as they are from all hope of ever arriving to the honour and happiness of wedlock, insensible of its beauty and sanctity; ignorant of all christian and moral obligations; threatened by poverty, urged by their passions, and encouraged by example; upon what principle can we expect these ill-fated women to act otherwise than they do?

Neither should it be forgotten, at the same time, that very few of these poor females, in comparison of the whole, are guilty of that

infamous species of profligacy and prostitution, which flourishes, without principle or shame, and in the broad eye of day, throughout all the cities of Europe. In their dress and carriage they are modest, and in conversation reserved; and they frequently manifest a fidelity and attachment towards their keepers, which, if it be not virtue, is something very like it. The terms and manner of their compliance too are commonly as decent, though perhaps not as solemn, as those of marriage; and the agreement they consider equally innocent; giving themselves up to the husband (for so he is called) with faith plighted, with sentiment, and with affection.

That this system ought to be utterly abolished I most readily admit. Justice towards the many beautiful and virtuous young ladies resident in these islands, cries aloud for a thorough reformation of manners. But by whom is such a reform to be begun and accomplished? It can hardly be expected, I think, from the objects of our present inquiries, who are conscious of no vices which their christian instructors have not taught them; and whose good qualities (few and limited as they are) flow chiefly from their own native original character and disposition.

Of those qualities, the most striking is tenderness of heart; a softness or sympathy of mind towards affliction and distress, which I conceive

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is seldom displayed in either extreme of prosperity or wretchedness. Those who have never experienced any of the vicissitudes and calamities of life, turn averse from the contemplation of them; and those again who are wretched themselves, have no leisure to attend to the sufferings of others: but the benevolence of the poor people of whom I treat, is not merely solitary and contemplative; it is an active principle, in which they may be said particularly to excel; and I have the authority of a great writer before quoted (Don Anthonio de Ulloa) to support me in this representation. Speaking of their kindness to many poor Europeans, who, in the hopes of mending their fortunes, repair to the Spanish West Indies, where they are utterly unknown, he has the following account of such of them as are called at Carthagena *Pulizones;* being, he says, men without employment, stock, or recommendation. "Many of these (he observes) after traversing the streets until they have nothing left to procure them a lodging or food, are reduced to have recourse to the last extremity, the Franciscan hospital; where they receive, in a quantity barely sufficient to preserve life, a kind of pap made of cassada, of which the Natives themselves will not eat. This is their food; their lodging is the porticoes of the squares and churches, until their good fortune

throws them in the way of some trader going up the country, who wants a servant. The city merchants, standing in no need of them, discountenance these adventurers. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tortured by the entire disappointment of their romantic hopes, they fall sick; without any other succour to apply to than Divine Providence. Now it is that the charity of the people of Colour becomes conspicuous. The Negro and Mulatto free women, moved at the deplorable condition of these poor wretches, carry them to their houses, and nurse them with the greatest care and affection. If any one die, they bury him by the alms they procure, and even cause masses to be said for his soul."

I believe that no man, who is acquainted with the general conduct and disposition of the same class of people in our own islands, will doubt that they would act as benevolently and humanely, under similar circumstances, as those of Carthagena. Their tenderness, as nurses towards the sick; their disinterested gratitude and attachment where favours are shewn them; and their peaceful deportment under a rigorous system of laws, and the influence of manners still more oppressive, afford great room to lament that a more enlightened and liberal policy is not adopted towards them. The en-

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franchisement of such as are enslaved, Christian instruction to the whole, and encouragement to their industry, would, in time, make them a useful and valuable class of citizens; induce them to intermarry with each other, and render their present relaxed and vicious system of life, as odious in appearance, as it is baneful to society.*

Hitherto I have confined myself to those people who, having some portion of Christian blood in their veins, pride themselves on that circumstance, and to the conscious value of

* The Rev. Mr. Ramsay has enlarged on the same idea concerning these unfortunate people. "Children of Mu-"latto women, he observes (meaning, I presume, their "children by White men) should be declared free from "their birth. Intendants should be appointed to see them "placed out in time to such trade or business as may best "agree with their inclination and the demands of the co-"lony: this should be done at the expense of their fathers, "and a sufficient sum might be deposited in the hands of "the churchwardens, soon after their birth, to answer the "purpose; the intendant keeping the churchwardens to "their duty. By these means the number of free citizens "would insensibly increase in the colonies, and add to "their security and strength. A new rank of citizens, "placed between the Black and White races, would be es-"tablished. They would naturally attach themselves to "the White race as the most honourable relation, and so "become a barrier against the designs of the Black, &c." All this, however, is easily proposed in theory, but, I am afraid, more difficult to adopt in practice than Mr. Ramsay was aware of.

which it is probable that some part of what is commendable in their conduct is owing. The free Blacks, not having the same advantage, have not the same emulation to excel. In truth, they differ but little from their brethren in bonds, whose manners, genius, and character, will be the subject of my next inquiries. I shall therefore conclude the present chapter by presenting to my readers a performance of a deceased friend, in which the character of the sable and saffron beauties of the West Indies, and the folly of their paramours, are pourtrayed with the delicacy and dexterity of wit, and the fancy and elegance of genuine poetry.

THE

SABLE VENUS:

AN ODE.

(Written in Jamaica.)

Alba ligustra cadunt vaccinia nigra leguntur. VIRG.

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I LONG had my gay lyre forsook,
But strung it t'other day, and took
T'wards HELICON my way;
The muses all, th' assembly grac'd,
The president himself was plac'd,
By chance 'twas concert-day.

ERATO smil'd to see me come;
Ask'd why I staid so much at home;
I own'd my conduct wrong;—
But now, the sable queen of love,
Resolv'd my gratitude to prove,
Had sent me for a song.

The ladies look'd extremely shy,
Apollo's smile was arch and sly,
But not one word they said:
I gaz'd,—sure silence is consent,—
I made my bow, away I went;
Was not my duty paid?

Come to my bosom, genial fire,
Soft sounds, and lively thoughts inspire;
Unusual is my theme:
Not such dissolving Ovid sung,
Nor melting Sappho's glowing tongue,—
More dainty mine I deem.

Sweet is the beam of morning bright,
Yet sweet the sober shade of night;
On rich Angola's shores
While beauty clad in sable dye,
Enchanting fires the wond'ring eye,
Farewel, ye Paphian bow'rs.

O sable Queen! thy mild domain
I seek, and court thy gentle reign,
So soothing, soft and sweet;
Where meeting love, sincere delight,
Fond pleasure, ready joys invite,
And unbought raptures meet.

The prating FRANK, the SPANIARD proud,
The double SCOT, HIBERNIAN loud,
And sullen ENGLISH own
The pleasing softness of thy sway,
And here, transferr'd allegiance pay,
For gracious is thy throne.

From East to West, o'er either Ind'
Thy sceptre sways; they pow'r we find
By both the tropics felt;
The blazing sun that gilds the zone,
Waits but the triumphs of thy throne,
Quite round the burning belt.

When thou, this large domain to view,
JAMAICA'S isle, thy conquest new,
First left thy native shore,
Bright was the morn, and soft the breeze,
With wanton joy the curling seas
The beauteous burthen bore.

Of iv'ry was the car, inlaid
With ev'ry shell of lively shade;
The throne was burnish'd gold;
The footstool gay with coral beam'd,
The wheels with brightest amber gleam'd,
And glist'ring round they roll'd.

The peacock and the ostrich spread
Their beauteous plumes, a trembling shade,
From noon-day's sultry flame:
Sent by their sire the careful East,
The wanton Breezes fann'd her breast,
And flutter'd round the dame.

The winged fish, in purple trace
The chariot drew; with easy grace
Their azure rein she guides;
And now they fly, and now they swim;
Now o'er the wave they lightly skim,
Or dart beneath the tides.

Each bird that haunts the rock and bay,
Each scaly native of the sea,
Came crowding o'er the main:
The dolphin shews his thousand dyes,
The grampus his enormous size,
And gambol in her train.

Her skin excell'd the raven plume,
Her breath the fragrant orange bloom,
Her eye the tropic beam:
Soft was her lip as silken down,
And mild her look as ev'ning sun
That gilds the COBRE* stream.

* A river so called in Jamaica.

The loveliest limbs her form compose,
Such as her sister VENUS chose,
In FLORENCE, where she's seen;
Both just alike, except the white,
No difference, no—none at night,
The beauteous dames between.

With native ease serene she sat,
In elegance of charms complete,
And every heart she won:
False dress deformity may shade,
True beauty courts no foreign aid:
Can tapers light the sun?—

The Pow'r that rules old ocean wide,
'Twas he, they say, had calm'd the tide,
Beheld the chariot roll:
Assum'd the figure of a tar,
The Captain of a man of war,
And told her all his soul.

She smil'd with kind consenting eyes;—
Beauty was ever valour's prize;
He rais'd a murky cloud:
The tritons sound, the sirens sing,
The dolphins dance, the billows ring,
And joy fills all the crowd.

Blest offspring of the warm embrace!
Fond ruler of the crisped race!
Tho' strong thy bow, dear boy,
Thy mingled shafts of black and white,
Are wing'd with feathers of delight,
Their points are tipt with joy.

But, when her step had touch'd the strand,
Wild rapture seiz'd the ravish'd land,
From ev'ry part they came:
Each mountain, valley, plain, and grove
Haste eagerly to shew their love;
Right welcome was the dame.

PORT-ROYAL shouts were heard aloud,
Gay ST. IAGO sent a crowd,
Grave KINGSTON not a few:
No rabble rout,—I heard it said,
Some great ones join'd the cavalcade—
The Muse will not say who.

Gay Goddess of the sable smile!
Propitious still, this grateful Isle
With thy protection bless!
Here fix, secure, thy constant throne;
Where all adoring thee, do ONE,
ONE Deity confess.

For me, if I no longer own
Allegiance to the CYPRIAN throne,
I play no fickle part;
It were ingratitude to slight
Superior kindness; I delight
To feel a grateful heart.

Then, playful Goddess! cease to change,
Nor in new beauties vainly range;
Tho' whatsoe'er thy view,
Try ev'ry form thou canst put on,
I'll follow thee thro' ev'ry one;
So staunch am I, so true.

Do thou in gentle PHIBIA smile,
In artful BENNEBA beguile,
In wanton MIMBA pout;
In sprightly CUBA's eyes look gay,
Or grave in sober QUASHEBA,
I still shall find thee out.

Thus have I sung; perhaps too gay
Such subject for such time of day,
And fitter far for youth:
Should then the song too wanton seem,
You know who chose th' unlucky theme,
Dear BRYAN tell the truth.

CHAPTER II.

Of Negroes in a state of Slavery.—Preliminary Observations.—Origin of the Slave Trade.—Portuguese Settlements on the African Coast.—Negroes introduced into Hispaniola in 1502, *and the Slave Trade revived at the instance of Barthol. de las Casas, in* 1517.—*Hawkins's Voyages to the Coast in* 1562 *and* 1563.—*African Company established by James* I.—*Second charter in* 1631 *by Charles* I.—*Third charter in* 1662.—*Fourth charter in* 1672.—*Effect of the Petition and Declaration of Right in* 1688.—*Acts of the 9th and 10th of William and Mary, c.* 26.—*New regulations in* 1750.—*Description of the African Coast.—Forts and Factories.—Exports from Great Britain.—Number of Negroes transported annually to the British Colonies.—State of the Trade from* 1771 *to* 1787.—*Number of Negroes at this time exported annually by the different Nations of Europe.*

CHAP. II.

THE progress of my work has now brought me to the contemplation of human nature in its most debased and abject state;—to the sad prospect of 450,000 reasonable beings (in the English islands only) in a state of barbarity and slavery;

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of whom—I will not say the major part, but—great numbers assuredly, have been torn from their native country and dearest connections, by means on which no good mind can reflect but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and sorrow!

I am not unapprized of the danger I incur at this juncture* in treating the subject of African Slavery, and the Slave Trade. By endeavouring to remove those wild and ill-founded notions which have been long encouraged by misinformed writers in Great Britain, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of the British Sugar Islands, I am conscious that I shall be exposed to all that "bitterness and wrath, and "anger and clamour, and evil-speaking and "malice," with which it has long been popular to load the unfortunate slave-holder: yet nothing is more certain than that the Slave Trade may be very wicked, and the planters in general very innocent. By far the greatest part of the present inhabitants of the British West Indies came into possession of their plantations by inheritance or accident. Many persons there are, in Great Britain itself, who amidst the continual fluctuation of human affairs, and the changes incident to property, find themselves possessed of estates in the West Indies which

* Alluding to the petitions depending in parliament (1791) for an abolition of the Slave Trade.

they have never seen, and invested with powers over their fellow creatures there, which, however extensively odious, they have never abused: some of these gentlemen, unacquainted with local circumstances, and misled by the popular outcry, humanely gave orders to emancipate all their slaves, at whatever expence; but are since convinced that their benevolent purposes cannot be carried into effect consistently even with the happiness of the Negroes themselves. —The Reverend Society established in Great Britian for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, are themselves under this very predicament. That venerable body hold a plantation in Barbadoes under a devise of Colonel Codrington; and they have found themselves not only under the disagreeable necessity of supporting the system of slavery which was bequeathed to them with the land; but are induced also, from the purest and best motives, to purchase occasionally a certain number of Negroes, in order to divide the work, and keep up the stock. They well know that moderate labour, unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are subject, in making provision for the day that is passing over them, is a state of comparative felicity: and they know also, that men in savage life have no incentive to emulation: persuasion is lost on such men, and compulsion, to a certain degree, is humanity and charity.

The question then, and the only question wherein the character of the planters is concerned, is this:—Making due allowance for human frailty under the influence of a degree of power ever dangerous to virtue, is their general conduct towards their slaves such only as necessarily results from their situation? If to this inquiry an affirmative be returned, surely Christian charity, though it may lament and condemn the first establishment of a system of slavery among them, and the means by which it is still kept up and supported, will not hastily arraign those who neither introduced, nor, as I shall hereafter shew, have been wanting in their best endeavours to correct and remedy many of the evils of it.

Having premised thus much, I shall now proceed to lay before my readers some account of the origin and present state of the Slave Trade, between the nations of Africa and such of the States of Europe as are concerned in it: this will constitute what remains of the present chapter. In the next, I shall offer some thoughts on the Negro character and disposition: after which I shall treat; first, of the means by which slaves are procured in Africa; secondly, of the mode of conveying them to the West Indies; and thirdly, of their general treatment and situation when sold to the planters there: an arrangement which will afford opportunities

of illustrating the foregoing observations, by enabling me to intersperse such reflections as occur to my mind on the several petitions now depending in parliament for a total abolition of the Slave Trade, all or the greatest part of which are grounded on abuses charged to exist under those several heads.

In the year 1442, while the Portuguese, under the encouragement of their celebrated Prince Henry, were exploring the coast of Africa, Anthony Gonsalez, who two years before had seized some Moors near *Cape Bojador*, was by that prince ordered to carry his prisoners back to Africa: he landed them at *Rio del Oro*, and received from the Moors in exchange, ten blacks, and a quantity of gold dust, with which he returned to Lisbon.

The success of Gonsalez, not only awakened the admiration, but stimulated the avarice of his countrymen; who, in the course of a few succeeding years, fitted out no less than thirty-seven ships in pursuit of the same gainful traffic. In 1481, the Portuguese built a fort on the Gold Coast; another, some time afterwards, on the island of Arguin; and a third at Loango Saint Paul's on the coast of Angola; and the king of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guiney.

So early as the year 1502, the Spaniards began to employ a few Negroes in the mines of

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Hispaniola: but, in the year following, Ovando, the governor of that island, forbade the further importation of them; alleging, that they taught the Indians all manner of wickedness, and rendered them less tractable than formerly.* So dreadfully rapid, however, was the decrease of these last-mentioned unfortunate people, as to induce the court of Spain a few years afterwards, to revoke the orders issued by Ovando, and to authorise, by royal authority, the introduction of African Slaves from the Portuguese Settlements on the coast of Guiney. In the year 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to certain persons for the exclusive supply of 4,000 Negroes annually, to the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico.† This patent having been assigned to some Genoese merchants, the supply of Negroes to the Spanish American plantations became from that time an established and regular branch of commerce.

The concurrence of the Emperor in this measure was obtained at the solicitation of Bartholomew de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, the celebrated protector and advocate of the Indians, and the conduct of this great prelate, on that occasion, has been the subject of much

* Herrera, Decad. 1. lib. 5. c. 12.

† Herrera, Decad. 2 lib. 2 c. 20.

censure and animadversion. He is charged with the iniquitous absurdity of reducing one race of men to slavery, while he was concerting the means of restoring freedom to another. "While he contended," says a late writer,* "for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and, in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one, *still heavier*, upon the Africans." It would be difficult perhaps to say what yoke could well be heavier than the rigorous one imposed by the Spaniards on the wretched Indians; under which, as the same Historian elsewhere relates, the natives of Hispaniola "were reduced, in the short space of fifteen years, from at least a million to sixty thousand." But the conduct of Las Casas is not fully and fairly stated in the foregoing representation; for it supposes that each class of people (the Negroes and Indians) was found in a similar condition and situation of life, whereas it is notorious that many of the Negroes imported from Africa, are born of enslaved parents, are bred up as Slaves themselves, and as such have been habituated to labour from their infancy. On this account we are told, that

* Robinson, Hist. Amer.

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one able Negro was capable of performing the work of four Indians. On the other hand, the condition of these last-mentioned people was widely removed from a state of slavery. "The inhabitants of these islands," says a cotemporary writer, "have been so used to the enjoyment of liberty, in a life of plenty and pastime, that the yoke of servitude is insupportable to them: and assuredly, if they would but embrace our holy religion, they would be the happiest of human beings in the enjoyment of their ancient freedom.*" Las Casas therefore contended, reasonably enough, that men inured to servitude and drudgery, who could experience no alteration of circumstances from a change of masters, and who felt not the sentiments which freedom alone can inspire, were not so great objects of commiseration, as those who, having always enjoyed the sweets of unbounded liberty, were suddenly deprived of it, and urged to tasks of labour which their strength was unable to perform. Las Casas could neither prevent nor foresee the abuses and evils that have arisen from the traffic recommended by him, and is not therefore justly chargeable with the rashness, absurdity, and iniquity, which have since been imputed to his conduct.

* Pet. Martyr. Decad.

Of the English, the first who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who afterwards received from Queen Elizabeth the honour of knighthood, and was made treasurer of the navy. His adventures are recorded by Hakluyt, a cotemporary historian. Having made several voyages to the Canary islands, and there received information (says Hakluyt) "that "Negroes were very good merchandise in His-"paniola, and that store of Negroes might "easily be had on the Coast of Guiney, he "resolved to make trial thereof, and commu-"nicated that device, with his worshipful friends "of London, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas "Lodge, Master Gunson, (his father-in-law) "Sir William Winter, Master Bromfield, "and others; all which persons liked so well "of his intention, that they became liberal "contributors, and adventurers in the action; "for which purpose there were three good "ships immediately provided, the Salomon of "120 tunne, wherein Master Hawkins himself "went, as general; the Swallow, of 100 tunnes, "and the Jonas, a bark of 40 tunnes; in which "small fleete, Master Hawkins took with him "100 men."

Hawkins sailed from England for Sierra Leone, in the month of October 1562, and in

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a short time after his arrival on the coast, got into his possession, partly (says Hakluyt) by the sword, and partly by other means, to the number of 300 Negroes, besides other merchandise, with which he proceeded directly for Hispaniola, and touching at different ports in that island, disposed of the whole of his cargo in exchange for hides, ginger, sugar, and some pearls; and arrived in England in September 1563, after a very prosperous voyage, which brought great profit to the adventurers.

The success which had attended this first expedition, appears to have attracted the notice, and excited the avarice of the British government; for we find Hawkins, in the year following, appointed to the command of one of the Queen's ships, the Jesus of 700 tons, and with the Solomon, the Tiger, a bark of 50 tons, and the Swallow, a bark of 30 tons, sent a second time on the same trading expedition; but with what part of the profits for his own share is not mentioned. He sailed from Plymouth the 18th of October 1564, and the same day joined at sea the Minion, another of the Queen's ships, commanded by captain David Carlet, and which, with two others, the John Baptist, and the Merlin, were likewise bound for Guiney.

The history of this voyage is related at large

in Hakluyt's Collection, by a person who embarked with Hawkins; from whose account it appears, that the fleet were dispersed by a violent gale of wind in the Bay of Biscay; that the Merlin caught fire and blew up; that the John Baptist put back, but that all the other vessels arrived at length at Cape Verde, on the Coast of Africa. "The people of Cape Verde," says the writer, "are called *Leophares*, "and are counted the goodliest men of all "others saving the Congoes, who inhabit this "side the Cape de Buena Esperance. These "Leophares have wars against the Jaloffs, "which are borderers by them. These men "also are more civil than any other, because of "their daily trafficke with the Frenchmen, and "are of a nature very gentle and loving. Here "we stayed but one night, and part of the "day, for the 7th of December we came away; "in that intending to have taken negroes there "perforce; the Minion's men gave them to "understand of our coming, and our pretence; "wherefore they did avoyde the snares we had "lay'd for them."

It seems probable from this account, that the captain of the Minion having an independent command, was jealous of Hawkins's authority, or, it is rather to be hoped, was shocked at the excesses to which his avarice urged him, in laying snares to seize and carry

off the unoffending natives. After this, the Minion no longer acted in concert, nor sailed in company with Hawkins and his squadron.

On the 8th of December, Hawkins anchored at a small island called Alcatrasa. At this place we are informed that the Jesus and Solomon riding at anchor, the two barks with their boats went to an island belonging to a people called the *Sapies*, to see if they could take any of the inhabitants. The English landed, to the number of eighty, with arms and ammunition; but the natives flying into the woods, they returned without success. A short time afterwards, we find this righteous commander at one of the islands which are called *Sambula*. "In this island (says the writer) we stayed "certain dayes, going every day on shore "to take the inhabitants with burning and "spoiling their towns. These inhabitants (who "were called *Samboes*) hold divers of the Sa- "pies taken in war as their slaves, whom they "kept to till the ground, of whom we took "many in that place, but of the Samboes none "at all; for they fled into the maine." The writer then proceeds to give an account of the manners and customs of these people; and relates, among other particulars, that slavery is the established punishment for theft. "If a "man (says he) steals but a Portugal cloth "from another, he is sold to the Portugals for

" a slave." He relates further, that the Samboes, in a time of scarcity, devoured their captives, for want of better food.

The rest of Hawkins's adventures are nothing to my present purpose. What has been quoted, is sufficient to demonstrate that a regular traffic had been established, so early as the year 1564, both by the Portuguese and the French, with some nations of Africa, for the purchase of slaves; that this intercourse was founded on mutual contract, and tended to civilise the natives on the coast; some nations of whom were possessed of slaves, which they kept for the purposes of agriculture; and occasionally killed for food; a horrid practice, that, I believe, no longer exists in this part of Africa. In regard to Hawkins himself, he was, I admit, a murderer and a robber. His avowed purpose in sailing to Guiney, was to seize by stratagem and force, and carry away, the unsuspecting natives, in the view of selling them as slaves to the people of Hispaniola. In this pursuit his object was present profit, and his employment and pastime devastation and murder. He made a third voyage to Africa in 1568, for the same purpose, with a squadron of six ships, which the reader will not be sorry to find terminated most miserably; and put a stop, for some years, to any more piratical expeditions of the English to the coast of Africa.

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The first notice which I find in history of an actual attempt by the British nation to establish a regular trade on the African Coast, is in the year 1618, when King James I. granted an exclusive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and some other merchants of London, for raising a joint stock for a trade to Guiney; ships were accordingly fitted out; but the profits not being found to answer expectation, the proprietors soon afterwards withdrew their contributions; and the charter was suffered to expire.*

In 1631, King Charles I. erected by charter a second company for a trade to Africa; granting to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and sundry merchants, to enjoy the sole trade to the Coast of Guiney, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, together with the isles adjacent, for 31 years to come. As the English had by this time began the settlement of plantations in the West Indies, Negroes were in such demand as to induce the new company, at a great expence, to erect forts and warehouses on the Coast, for the protection of their commerce; but so many private adventurers and interlopers of all nations,

* Queen Elizabeth is said to have granted a patent in the 30th year of her reign, for carrying on an exclusive trade from the river Senegal to a hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leone; but I do not find that any voyage was ever made in consequence of it.

broke in upon them, as in effect to force the trade open, and so it continued until after the restoration of Charles II.

In the year 1662, a third exclusive African company was incorporated, consisting of many persons of high rank and distinction; at the head of whom was the king's brother, the duke of York. This company undertook to supply our West Indian Plantations with 3,000 Negroes annually; but in 1664, the king intending to make war on the Dutch, secretly sent Sir Robert Holmes to the Coast, with orders to seize the Dutch forts near Cape Verde; in which service Holmes succeeded, and built at the same time a new fort at the mouth of the River Gambia, called James Fort, which we still hold. Thence sailing southward, he mastered all the Dutch factories on the Guiney Coast, except St. George, D'Elmina, and Acheen; all of which were however retaken in 1665, by De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral; together with the Fort of Koromantyn, belonging to the English company, which (if I mistake not) the Dutch hold at this day, by the name of Fort Amsterdam.

In 1672 (the third company having in this year surrendered their charter to the crown) the fourth and last exclusive company was established. It was dignified by the title of the Royal African Company, and had, among its

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subscribers, the King, the duke of York, and many other persons of high rank and quality; and the whole capital of 111,000*l.* was raised in nine months. Out of this subscription, the late company was allowed 34,000*l.* for their three forts of cape Coast Castle, Sierra Leone, and James Fort. The new company soon improved their trade, and increased the number of their forts; and, as all former companies were obliged to send to Holland to make up an assortment for the cargoes of their ships, they now introduced into England the making of sundry kinds of woollen goods, and other manufactures not before known; and they imported from the coast great quantities of gold, out of which, in 1673, 50,000 guineas (so named from the country were coined. They also imported redwood for dyers, ivory, wax, and some other valuable commodities, and they exported to the value of 70,000*l.* annually in English goods.

But the revolution in 1688 changed the scene; for by the 1st of William and Mary, as the *Petition and Declaration of Right* is commonly called, the African and all other exclusive companies not authorised by parliament, were abolished: the African trade, therefore, became in fact, free and open; although the company still persisted in seizing the ships of separate traders; a measure which occasioned

much clamour, and no small obstruction to the Negro trade. The disputes which this conduct gave rise to, are however too uninteresting at present to be brought again to remembrance.

In 1689 was established the first *Assiento* company for supplying the Spanish West Indies with Negroes from Jamaica; and in 1698 the trade to Africa, which, by the Petition of Right was virtually laid open, was expressly made so, under certain conditions; for by statutes 9 and 10th of Will. and Mary, c. 26. it was enacted—

"That for the preservation of the trade, and for the advantage of England and its Colonies, it should be lawful for any of the subjects of his Majesty's realm of England, as well as for the company, to trade from England and the Plantations in America to Africa, between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope; upon paying for the aforesaid uses a duty of 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, for the goods exported from England or the Plantations, to be paid to the collector at the time of entry outwards, for the use of the company.

The same liberty was given to trade between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount; but, in addition to the 10 *per cent.* on exportation, there was to be paid a further sum of 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, on all goods and merchandise, redwood excepted, which was to pay only *5 per cent.* at the place of exportation, imported into

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England, or the Plantations, from the coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount. The duties so paid were to be applied to the maintenance of the forts and castles, the providing ammunition and soldiers. The company were yearly to render an account of the receipt of these duties and their application, to the Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer.

Persons paying these duties were to have the same protection and defence for their persons, ships, and goods, from the forts and castles, and the same freedom and security for their negociations and trade, as the company. They might settle factories within their limits, and were to be free from all molestations from the company.

No duty imposed by this act was to extend to Negroes exported, or to gold and silver, nor was the act to be so construed as to hinder any one from trading to that part of Africa, commonly called South Barbary, extending southerly as far as Cape Blanco."

Against the regulations of this law, which was to continue in force for 13 years, both the company and many of the private traders remonstrated without effect; and the company's affairs, in the course of a few years, declined to so great a degree, that they were unable either to support their factories with new investments, or to pay the debts which they had

already incurred. Parliament, at length, was induced to give them some assistance; and in 1739 voted 10,000*l.* for that purpose, and the like sum annually until the year 1744, when, by reason of the war with France and Spain, the grant was doubled. In each of the two succeeding years 10,000*l.* was again voted;—but nothing was granted for 1747.

In the year 1750 the African trade, after having passed, as we have seen, through different constitutions and conditions, assumed a new appearance; for in that year the law took place under which it still exists, and is at present regulated. It is entitled, "An act for extending and improving the trade to Africa;" the terms and conditions whereof I need not set forth, as the act itself is so easily referred to. Of the several countries, however, with which the trade is at present carried on, and the state of it for some years past, some particulars may be necessary. My account will be brief; there being many descriptions of Guiney extant; and an abridgment and summary of the best histories (collated and arranged with great judgment and accuracy) are given to the public in Astley's collection of voyages; wherein the reader will find much curious and useful information.*

* In the year 1763 Senegal and its dependencies were vested in the African Company; but in 1765 the same be-

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That part then of the African coast on the Atlantic Ocean, with which the people of Europe have an intercourse, extends from Cape Blanco, in 21° N. latitude, to a Portuguese settlement, called *Loango St. Paul's*, in the kingdom of Angola, lat. 9° S. comprehending a line of coast of upwards of 1,300 English leagues, and consisting of various countries, inhabited by a great number of savage nations, differing widely from each other, in government, language, manners, and superstitions.

The first of these countries, in which the British have an establishment, is the province of Senegambia; including the river Senegal, which opens into the Western ocean in nearly 16 degrees, and the river Gambia in 13°½ N. latitude. Both these rivers are navigable many hundred miles up the country. The Negroes obtained from this part of Africa are known to the West-Indian planters by the general name of *Mandingoes*.

From Cape Roxo (or Rouge) to Cape Appollonia, the European settlements, except a

came vested in the crown, and the trade was laid open. Thus the whole African trade is free to all his Majesty's subjects; but that part of it which is carried on between Port Sallee and Cape Rouge is under the direction of government. From Cape Rouge to the Cape of Good Hope, the English forts are under the direction of a committee of the company.

small English factory in the river Sierra Leone, are chiefly those of the Portuguese.—The Negroes obtained through their means, as well as from the English factory, are likewise called Mandingoes—I believe improperly; as many different languages are spoken on the coast between Senegal and Appollonia. This part of Africa is commonly called the Windward Coast.

The Gold Coast extends from Cape Appollonia to the river Volta, comprehending a line of 100 leagues. The maritime country is divided into a number of petty states or principalities, seemingly independent of, and often at war with, each other; the chief of which are Axim, Ante, Adom, Jabi, Commani, Fetu, Sabou, Fantyn (a rich and powerful people) Acron, and Agonna; some of which are said to maintain a republican, or more properly an aristocratical, form of government. Of the inland country we know but little more than that it consists of three extensive kingdoms, called Assiantee (or Shantee) Akim, and Aquambou; each of which supplies the maritime states with great numbers of slaves, which they sell to the Europeans. In the British West Indies, most of the Negroes purchased on the Gold Coast, are known by the general appellation of *Koromantees*, from Koromantyn, one of the earliest of our factories on this part

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of the African coast, as hath been already observed, but which is now become an insignificant village, or factory, in possession of the Dutch. It is situated in the kingdom of Fantyn, two miles from the fort of Anamaboe.—I believe that the same, or different dialects of the same language, is spoken throughout all the Gold Coast countries.

From the river Volta to the river Lagos, extends the Whidah country, (at present a province to the king of Dahomey, a great inland kingdom) by some geographers considered as part of the Gold Coast; by others denominated *the Slave Coast proper*. It begins with the small and barren state of Koto or Lampi, next to which is the kingdom of Adra, comprehending the subordinate maritime principalities of Great and Little Popo, or Papaw; from whence the Whidah Negroes are called generally, by the British traders, *Papaws*. The Whidah language, except as to the inhabitants of Koto, is peculiar and appropriate. The people of Koto speak a dialect of the Gold Coast, and there is a tribe of Whidah Negroes called *Nagoes*, who have a dialect which, though understood by the Papaws, differs from the Whidah language in many particulars.

West of the river Lagos begins the great kingdom of Benin, the coast of which forms a

gulph or bright, ending at Cape Lopez, wherein are situated the trading places (being so many villages on the banks of several rivers) of Benin, Bonny, Old and New Callabar, Cameron, and Gaboon.

The slaves purchased on this part of the coast, have the general denomination of *Eboes*; probably from Arebo, the name of a village, formerly a considerable town, on the river Benin. Some of them (a tribe, I believe, from the interior country) are likewise called *Mocoes*. In language they differ both from the Gold Coast Negroes and those of Whidah, and in some respects from each other; for from Whidah to Angola, the dialects vary at almost every trading river.

From Cape Lopez to the river Congo, distant 140 leagues, I believe the trade is chiefly engrossed by the Dutch and the French. To the southward of this river, very little trade is carried on by any Europeans except the Portuguese, who, as hath been observed, have a large city at Loango St. Paul's on the coast of Angola, strongly fortified; from which place they have penetrated quite through the country to their settlements at, and south of, Mozambique, upon the eastern coast of Africa, where they have caravans constantly going and returning, and by that means carry on an extensive and advantageous inland commerce.

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The whole number of forts and factories established on the coast by the different powers of Europe, is I believe forty; of which fourteen belong to the English, three to the French, fifteen to the Dutch, four to the Portuguese, and four to the Danes.

The commodities exported by the British traders to Africa, consist chiefly of woollens, linens, Manchester goods, Birmingham and Sheffield goods; East Indian silks and mixed goods; English printed calicoes and cottons; ready-made cloths, musquets, bayonets, cutlasses, gunpowder shot, wrought and unwrought brass and copper, lead, pewter, wrought and unwrought iron, hats, worsted caps, earthenware, British spirits, rum and brandy, tea, sugar, coffee and provisions of every kind.—The annual value, of late years, is estimated on an average at about 800,000*l.* sterling.

In some parts of the coast there is a duty paid on each ship, to the king or chief man of the country; which is called his customs. In other parts this is not exacted; but it is only in such places as have but little trade. When permission is obtained to trade, the slaves are sometimes brought by the Black merchants on board the ships, and there sold; and sometimes they are purchased on shore at the merchants' houses, and brought off to the ships by the cap-

tains; after which the Black traders come on board to receive payment. In these particulars, circumstances and situations very often change the mode, just as an opposition among a number of purchasers makes it more or less necessary. Many of the factories on the coast are private property; of course they procure slaves for the ships in their own concern. Sometimes they barter slaves with strangers, in order to enlarge their own assortment of goods, or to procure some particular commodities of which they are in want. Among the forts, the officers that belong to them carry on trade more or less with the shipping as their circumstances will admit, and according as they are more or less independent; but the Black traders are supposed to sell their slaves about forty shillings each cheaper than the factories.

In those parts of the coast to which shipping resort all the year, the intercourse between the Black traders withinland (for an extent as yet unexplored by any White person) and those on the coast, is constant and regular; but we have no sufficiently precise and particular account of the manner in which this constant supply of slaves for sale is kept up and supported. I shall hereafter give the best information I have been able to collect on this head. I regret that I have not suf-

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ficent materials to enable me to furnish an accurate statement of the number of Africans that have been transported to the British colonies since their first settlement. However, that curiosity may not be wholly disappointed, I have collected such materials as I think will enable the reader to form some judgment in this respect, which probably will not be very wide of the truth.

In the various publications with which the press abounded during the time that the disputes between the African Company and the private traders were an object of national concern, it is asserted by one party, and not denied by the other, that about 140,000 Negroes had been exported by the company, and 160,000 more by private adventurers, between the years 1680 and 1700: Total 300,000. From 1700 to December 1786, the number imported into Jamaica was 610,000. I say this on sufficient evidence, having in my possession lists of all the entries. Of the number imported during the same interval into the southern provinces of North America, as well as the Windward Islands, I cannot speak with precision; but I am of opinion that the Jamaica import may fairly be reckoned one-third of the whole. On these grounds, the total import into all the British colonies of America and the West Indies, from 1680 to

1786, may be put at 2,130,000, being, on an average of the whole, 20,095 annually. This I admit is much less than is commonly supposed: Anderson roundly fixes the annual import at 100,000; but vague and general assertions prove nothing. The re-export may be stated at about one-fifth part of the import.

It appears to me, that the British slave trade had attained to its highest pitch of prosperity a short time before the commencement of the late American war. The following has been given to the public as an accurate account of the ships which sailed from England for the Coast in 1771, and the number of slaves for the purchase and transportation of which they were sufficiently provided, and I believe its authenticity cannot be doubted; viz.

	Ships.		Negroes.
To Senegambia - -	40	for	3,310
Windward Coast -	56	—	11,960
Gold Coast - -	29	—	7,525
Bight of Benin - -	63	—	23,301
Angola - - -	4	—	1,050
Total - -	192	—	47,146

Of the above 192 ships	Negroes.
107 sailed from Liverpool, for	29,250
58 — from London, for -	8,136
23 — from Bristol, for -	8,810
4 — from Lancaster, for -	950

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In the year 1772 sailed from Great Britian, for the Africian coast

		175	vessels, having goods on board						
			valued at	-	£.	866,394	11	3
1773	-	151	- -	Do.	-	688,110	10	11
1774	-	167	- -	Do.	-	846,525	12	5
1775	-	152	- -	Do.	-	786,168	2	8
1776	-	101	- -	Do.	-	470,770	1	1
1777	-	58	- -	Do.	-	239,218	3	—
1778	-	41	- -	Do.	-	154,986	1	10
1779	-	28	- -	Do.	-	159,217	19	7

This defalcation was unquestionably owing to the late war, on the termination of which the trade immediately began to revive, as appears by the following account of the Negroes imported into and exported from the British West-Indian Islands, from 1783 to 1787 (both years inclusive); viz.

Year.	No. of Ships.	Tons.	Negroes imported.	Negroes exported.	Negroes retained.
1783 -	38 -	5,455 -	16,208 -	809 -	15,399
1784 -	93 -	13,301 -	28,550 -	5,263 -	23,287
1785 -	73 -	10,730 -	21,598 -	5,018 -	15,580
1786 -	67 -	8,070 -	19,160 -	4,317 -	14,843
1787 -	85 -	12,183 -	21,023 -	5,366 -	15,557

Of the whole number now annually exported from Africa, by the subjects of Great Britian, France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, and the particular countries whence supplied, the

following account was transmitted by the merchants of Liverpool to the Lords of the Privy Council, and it is undoubtedly as authentic and particular a return as can possibly be obtained: viz.

	No. of Slaves exported.
By the British - - -	38,000
French - - -	20,000
Dutch - - -	4,000
Danes - - -	2,000
Portuguese - -	10,000
Total - -	74,000

	No. of Slaves.
Of which Gambia furnishes about -	700
Isles Delos, and the adjacent rivers - - -	1,500
From Sierra Leone to Cape Mount - - -	2,000
From Cape Mount to Cape Palmas - - -	3,000
From Cape Palmas to Cape Appollonia - -	1,000
Gold Coast - -	10,000
Quitta and Popo - -	1,000
Whydah - - -	4,500
Porto Novo, Eppee, and Bidagry - - -	3,500
Carried forward -	27,200

	No. of Slaves.
Brought forward -	27,200
Lagos and Benin - -	3,500
Bonny and New Calabar -	14,500
Old Calabar and Cameroons	7,000
Gabon and Cape Lopez -	500
Loango, Melimba, and Cape Renda - - -	13,500
Majunba, Ambris, and Missoula - - - -	1,000
Loango, St. Paul's, and Benguela - - -	7,000
Total -	74,200

Of the miserable people thus condemned to perpetual exile and servitude, though born in various and widely-separated countries, it is not easy to discriminate the peculiar manners and native propensities. The similar and uniform system of life to which they are all reduced; the few opportunities and the little encouragement that are given them for mental improvement; are circumstances that necessarily induce a predominant and prevailing cast of character and disposition. "The day," says Homer, "which makes man a slave, takes away half his worth," and, in fact, he loses every impulse to action, except that of fear. Nevertheless, there are

among several of the African nations some striking and predominant features, which cannot easily be over-looked by a person residing in any one of the sugar plantations. These peculiarities I shall endeavour to describe with candour and impartiality; after which, I shall attempt a delineation of their general character, as it is displayed under all the various modifications and circumstances of original habits, and present situation and condition.

CHAPTER III.

Mandingoes, or Natives of the Windward Coast.—Mahometans.—Their wars, manners, and persons.—Koromantyn Negroes, or Natives of the Gold Coast.—Their ferociousness of disposition displayed by an account of the Negro rebellion in Jamaica in 1760.*—Their national manners, wars, and superstitions.—Natives of Whidah or Fida.—Their good qualities.—Nagoes.—Negroes from Benin.—Persons and tempers.—Canibals.—Natives of Kongo and Angola.—Survey of the character and dispositions of Negroes in a state of slavery.*

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Most, if not all, the nations that inhabit that part of Africa which lies to the northward and eastward of Sierra Leone, are Mahometans; and following the means of conversion prescribed by their prophet are, as we are told, perpetually at war with such of the surrounding nations as refuse to adopt their religious tenets. The prisoners taken in these religious wars furnish, I doubt not, great part of the slaves which are exported from the factories on the Windward Coast; and it is probable that death would be the fate of most of the captives, if purchasers were not to be met with.

But the Mandingoes have frequent wars with each other, as well as with such nations as they consider enemies of their faith; and I am afraid that some of these wars arise from motives even less justifiable than religious zeal. An old and faithful Mandingo servant, who stands at my elbow while I write this, relates, that being sent by his father to visit a distant relation in a country wherein the Portuguese had a settlement, a fray happened in the village in which he resided; that many people were killed, and others taken prisoners, and he himself was seized and carried off in the skirmish; not, as he conceives, by a foreign enemy, but by some of the natives of the place; and being sent down a river in a canoe, was sold to the captain of the ship that brought him to Jamaica. Of his national customs and manners he remembers but little, being, at the time of his captivity, but a youth. He relates, that the natives practise circumcision, and that he himself has undergone that operation; and he has not forgot the morning and evening prayer which his father taught him; in proof of this assertion, he chaunts, in an audible and shrill tone, a sentence that I conceive to be part of the Alcoran, *La illa, ill illa!** which he says they sing aloud at the first appearance of

* There is no god, but God.

the new moon. He relates, moreover, that in his own country Friday was constantly made a day of strict fasting. It was almost a sin, he observes, on that day, *to swallow his spittle*,—such is his expression.

Besides this man, I had once another Mandingo servant, who could write, with great beauty and exactness, the Arabic alphabet, and some passages from the Alcoran. Whether his learning extended any further I had no opportunity of being informed, as he died soon after he came into my possession.

The advantage possessed by a few of these people, of being able to read and write, is a circumstance on which the Mandingo Negroes in the West Indies pride themselves greatly among the rest of the slaves; over whom they consider that they possess a marked superiority; and in truth they display such a gentleness of disposition and demeanour, as would seem the result of early education and discipline, were it not that generally speaking, they are more prone to theft than any of the African tribes. It has been supposed that this propensity, among other vices, is natural to a state of slavery, which degrades and corrupts the human mind in a deplorable manner; but why the Mandingoes should have become more vicious in this respect than the rest of the natives of Africa in the same condition of life, is a question I cannot answer.

In their complexions and persons, the Mandingoes are easily to be distinguished from such of the Africans as are born nearer to the equator; but they consist nevertheless of very distinct tribes, some of which are remarkably tall and black, and there is one tribe among them (called also the Foolah) that seems to me to constitute the link between the Moors and Negroes properly so called. They are of a less glossy black than the Gold Coast Negroes; and their hair, though bushy and crisped, is not woolly, but soft and silky to the touch. Neither have the Mandingoes, in common, the thick lips and flat noses of the more southern natives; and they are, in a great degree, exempt from that strong and fetid odour, which exhales from the skin of most of the latter; but in general they are not well adapted for hard labour.*

After all, they differ less in their persons, than in the qualities of the mind, from the Na-

* There is a remarkable anomaly of nature sometimes seen in the children born of Negro women by black men. Their features are those of the Negro, but their complexions *are white:* not the white of the European, but a cadaverous paleness without any mixture of red, and their hair is of the same colour, though crisped and woolly. I have inspected several of these poor creatures, and always found them weak-sighted, and, in general, defective in understanding. These are the people called by the Spaniards *Albinos;* but that a nation of them exists in any part of the world, as asserted by Voltaire, I do not believe.

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tives of the Gold Coast; who may be said to constitute the genuine and original unmixed Negro, both in person and character.

The circumstances which distinguish the Koromantyn, or Gold Coast, Negroes, from all others, are firmness both of body and mind; a ferociousness of disposition; but withal, activity, courage, and a stubbornness, or what an ancient Roman would have deemed an elevation, of soul, which prompts them to enterprizes of difficulty and danger; and enables them to meet death, in its most horrible shape, with fortitude or indifference. They sometimes take to labour with great promptitude and alacrity, and have constitutions well adapted for it; for many of them have undoubtedly been slaves in Africa:—I have interrogated great numbers on this subject, and although some of them asserted they were born free, who, as it was afterwards proved by the testimony of their own relations, were actually sold as slaves by their masters, others frankly confessed to me that they had no claim to freedom in their own country, and were sold either to pay the debts, or to expiate the crimes, of their owners. On the other hand, the Gold Coast being inhabited by various different tribes which are engaged in perpetual warfare and hostility with each other, there cannot be a doubt that many of the captives taken in battle, and sold in the European settlements,

were of free condition in their native country, and perhaps the owners of slaves themselves. It is not wonderful that such men should endeavour, even by means the most desperate, to regain the freedom of which they have been deprived; nor do I conceive that any further circumstances are necessary to prompt them to action, than that of being sold into captivity in a distant country. I mean only to state facts as I find them. Such I well know was the origin of the Negro rebellion which happened in Jamaica in 1760. It arose at the instigation of a Koromantyn Negro of the name of Tacky, who had been a chief in Guiney; and it broke out on the Frontier plantation in St. Mary's parish, belonging to the late Ballard Beckford, and the adjoining estate of Trinity, the property of my deceased relation and benefactor Zachary Bayly, to whose wisdom, activity, and courage on this occasion, it was owing that the revolt was not as general and destructive as that which now rages in St. Domingo (1791). On those plantations were upwards of one hundred Gold Coast Negroes newly imported, and I do not believe that an individual amongst them had received the least shadow of ill treatment from the time of their arrival there. Concerning those on the Trinity estate, I can pronounce of my own knowledge, that they were under the government of an

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overseer of singular tenderness and humanity. His name was Abraham Fletcher; and let it be remembered, in justice even to the rebels, and as a lesson to other overseers, that his life was spared from respect to his virtues. The insurgents had heard of his character from the other Negroes, and suffered him to pass through them unmolested—this fact appeared in evidence.* Having collected themselves into a body about

* Mr. Bayly had himself left the Trinity estate the preceding evening, after having personally inspected into the situation of his newly purchased Africans, and delivered them with his own hands their clothing *and knives*, little apprehending the bloody business in which these knives were soon afterwards employed. He slept at Ballard's Valley, a plantation of Mr. Cruikshank, a few miles distant: and was awoke by his servant at day-break, with the information that his Trinity Negroes had revolted. The intelligence was brought by some of his own people, who had fled in search of their master, and reported that the insurgents were close at their heels. No time therefore being to to be lost Mr. Bayly recommended to Mr. Cruikshank, and some other gentlemen who were with him, to proceed forthwith, with such arms as they could collect, to an estate in the neighborhood, which having a defensible house, was fixed on as a proper place of rendezvous; promising to join them in a few hours. He then mounted his horse, and proceeded himself in search of the rebels, conceiving (as he knew they had no reason to complain of ill treatment) that his presence and persuasions would reduce them to obedience. As he descended the hill on which Mr. Cruikshank's house was situated, he heard the *Koromantyn yell of war*, and saw the whole body of rebel Negroes in full march for the habitation of the Overseer; a smaller house situated within

one o'clock in the morning, they proceeded to the fort at Port Maria, killed the sentinel, and

half a mile of the other. He approached them notwithstanding, and waving his hat, endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but was answered by a discharge of musquetry, by which his servant's horse was shot under him, and both himself and the sevant very narrowly escaped with life. The savages then proceeded to the massacre of the White people in the Overseer's house; and Mr. Bayly rode round to all the different plantations in the neighborhood, giving them notice of their danger, and sending all the Whites to the place of rendezvous. By this measure he had collected before noon about 130 Whites aud trusty Blacks, tolerably armed; whom he then led in pursuit of the rebels. They were found at Haywood-Hall, roasting an ox by the flames of the buildings, which they had set on fire. The Whites attacked them with great fury, killed eight or nine on the spot, took several of them prisoners, and drove the rest into the woods, where they acted afterwards wholly on the defensive, and were soon exterminated. Thus a timely check was given to a conspiracy, which was found to have been general among the *Koromantyn* Negroes throughout the Island, and the country was probably saved from utter destruction by the prudence and promptitude of aa individual.—I have related these circumstances concerning my deceased relation's conduct on this occasion for two reasons; first, because it presents an example to be imitated in similar emergencies; and secondly, because I have thus an opportunity given me of paying a just tribute to the memory of one, whom I loved and honoured wheu living, and lamented when dead, with more than filial affection and piety: for he possessed the clearest head, the most enlarged and comprehensive mind, the sweetest temper, and the kindest and most benevolent disposition, of any man that it has been my fortune to meet with, in my diversified journey through life! See voi. i. p. 308.

provided themselves with as great a quantity of arms and ammunition as they could conveniently dispose of. Being by this time joined by a number of their countrymen from the neighbouring plantations, they marched up the high road that led to the interior parts of the country, carrying death and desolation as they went. At Ballard's Valley they surrounded the overseer's house about four in the morning, in which finding all the White servants in bed, they butchered every one of them in the most savage manner, and literally drank their blood mixed with rum. At Esher, and other estates, they exhibited the same tragedy; and then set fire to the buildings and canes. In one morning they murdered between thirty and forty Whites and Mulattoes, not sparing even infants at the breast, before their progress was stopped. Tacky, the Chief, was killed in the woods by one of the parties that went in pursuit of them; but some others of the ringleaders being taken, and a general inclination to revolt appearing among all the Koromantyn Negroes in the island, it was thought necessary to make a few terrible examples of some of the most guilty. Of three who were clearly proved to have been concerned in the murders committed at Ballard's Valley, one was condemned to be burnt, and the other two to be hung up alive in irons, and left to perish in that dread-

ful situation. The wretch that was burnt was made to sit on the ground, and his body being chained to an iron stake, the fire was applied to his feet. He uttered not a groan, and saw his legs reduced to ashes with the utmost firmness and composure; after which, one of his arms by some means getting loose, he snatched a brand from the fire that was consuming him, and flung it in the face of the executioner. The two that were hung up alive were indulged, at their own request, with a hearty meal immediately before they were suspended on the gibbet, which was erected in the parade of the town of Kingston. From that time, until they expired, they never uttered the least complaint, except only of cold in the night, but diverted themselves all day long in discourse with their countrymen, who were permitted, very improperly, to surround the gibbet. On the seventh day a notion prevailed among the spectators, that one of them wished to communicate an important secret to his master, my near relation; who being in St. Mary's parish, the commanding officer sent for me. I endeavoured, by means of an interpreter, to let him know that I was present; but I could not understand what he said in return. I remember that both he and his fellow-sufferer laughed immoderately at something that occured,—I know not what. The next morning one of them silently expired, as did the other on the morning of the ninth day.

The courage or unconcern which the people of this country manifest at the approach of death, arises, doubtless, in a great measure, from their national manners, wars and superstitions, which are all, in the highest degree, savage and sanguinary. A power over the lives of his slaves is possessed, and exercised too, on very frivolous occasions, without compunction or scruple, by every master of slaves on the Gold Coast. Fathers have the like power over their children. In their wars they are bloody and cruel beyond any nation that ever existed; for all such of their captives as they reserve not for slaves, they murder with circumstances of outrageous barbarity; cutting them across the face, and tearing away the under jaw, which they preserve as a trophy, leaving the miserable victims to perish in that condition. I have collected this account from themselves. They tell me likewise, that whenever a considerable man expires, several of his wives, and a great number of his slaves, are sacrificed at his funeral. This is done, say they, that he may be properly attended in the next world. This circumstance has been confirmed to me by every Gold Coast Negro that I have interrogated on the subject, and I have enquired of many.*

* The following particulars I collected from some of my own Koromantyn Negroes, whose veracity I had no reason to doubt :—*Clara*, a most faithful well-disposed woman,

In a country where executions are so frequent, and human blood is spilt with so little remorse, CHAP. III.

who was brought from the Gold Coast to Jamaica the latter end of 1784, relates, "that she was born in a village near Anamaboo; that her father and mother, and their children (nine in number) were slaves to a great man, named *Anamoa,* on whose death she herself, and two of her brothers (who likewise belong to me) with several others of his slaves, were sold to pay his debts. *That twenty others were killed at his funeral.* I asked her which country she liked best, Jamaica or Guiney? She replied, that Jamaica was the better country, "*for that people were not killed there, as in Guiney, at the funeral of their masters.*" She informed me also, in answer to some other inquiries, of a remarkable fact (i.e.), that the natives of the Gold Coast give their children the *yaws,* (a frightful disorder) *by inoculation;* and she described the manner of performing the operation to be making an incision in the thigh, and putting in some of the infectious matter. I asked her what benefit they expected from this practice? She answered, that by this means their infants had the disorder slightly, and recovered speedily, whereas by catching it at a later time of life, the disease, she said, '*got into the bone,*' that was her expression.

Cudjoe, aged (as I suppose) about fifty, relates that he was born in the kingdom of Asiantee, the king or chieftain of which country was named Poco. Cudjoe's elder brother having been caught in adultery with the wife of a man named Quashee, was adjudged to pay a fine to the man he had injured; which not being able to do, he delivered over him (Cudjoe) who was at that time, by his own account, a boy about sixteen, as a compensation; and Quashee immediately carried him off, and soon afterwards sold him to a Black slave-merchant, who, having purchased many others, carried them all to the sea-coast (they were two months on

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death must necessarily have lost many of its terrors; and the natives in general, conscious they have no security even for the day that is passing over them, seem prepared for, and resigned to, the fate that probably awaits them. This contempt of death, or indifference about life, they bring with them to the West Indies; but if fortunately they fall into good hands at first, and become well settled, they acquire by degrees other sentiments and notions. Nature resumes her lawful influence over them. With the consciousness of security, the love of existence also, amidst all the evils that attend it in a state of slavery,

their journey), and sold them to a Captain Reeder, who brought them to Jamaica. I asked him, what right his brother had to sell him? '*Because*, said he, '*my father was dead*;' and by his account fathers have an unquestionable right to sell their children, and probably, on the demise of the father, the same power is assumed by the eldest son over the younger branches. He relates further, that the king has the power of life and death, and that executions are very frequent. That when the king or any considerable man dies, a great number of his slaves are sacrificed at his tomb. He pretends not to ascertain any particular number, but remembers perfectly well the death of the old king whom Poco succeeded, and is positively certain that upwards of one hundred people were slaughtered on that occasion. To convince me that he understood what he said when he mentioned that number, he counted the fingers of both his hands ten times. He saith further, that wars are very frequent; that all able men are compelled to bear arms: and that when thay take prisoners, the old and infirm are killed, and the young and able preserved to be sold for slaves.

gains admission into their bosoms. They feel it, and, such is the force of habitual barbarity, seem ashamed of their own weakness. A gentleman of Jamaica visiting a valuable Koromantyn-Negro that was sick, and perceiving that he was thoughtful and dejected, endeavoured by soothing and encouraging language to raise his drooping spirits. *Massa*, said the Negro (in a tone of self-reproach and conscious degeneracy) *since me come to White man's country me lub (love) life too much!*

Even the children brought from the Gold Coast manifest an evident superiority, both in hardiness of frame, and vigour of mind, over all the young people of the same age that are imported from other parts of Africa. The like firmness and intrepidity which are distinguishable in adults of this nation, are visible in their boys at an age which might be thought too tender to receive any lasting impression, either from precept or example.—I have been myself an eye-witness to the truth of this remark, in the circumstance I am about to relate. A gentleman of my acquaintance, who had purchased at the same time ten Koromantyn boys, and the like number of Eboes (the eldest of the whole apparently not more than thirteen years of age) caused them all to be collected and brought before him in my presence, to be marked on the breast. This operation is performed by heating a small silver brand, composed

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of one or two letters, in the flame of spirits of wine, and applying it to the skin, which is previously anointed with sweet oil. The application is instantaneous, and the pain momentary. Nevertheless it may be easily supposed that the apparatus must have a frightful appearance to a child. Accordingly, when the first boy, who happened to be one of the Eboes, and the stoutest of the whole, was led forward to receive the mark, he screamed dreadfully, while his companions of the same nation manifested strong emotions of sympathetic terror. The gentleman stopt his hand; but the Koromantyn boys, laughing aloud, and immediately coming forward of their own accord, offered their bosoms undauntedly to the brand, and receiving its impression without flinching in the least, snapt their fingers in exultation over the poor Eboes.

One cannot surely but lament, that a people thus naturally emulous and intrepid, should be sunk into so deplorable a state of barbarity and superstition; and that their spirits should ever be broken down by the yoke of slavery! Whatever may be alleged concerning their ferociousness and implacability in their present notions of right and wrong, I am persuaded that they possess qualities which are capable of, and well deserve, cultivation and improvement. —But it is time to conclude my observations

on this nation, which I shall do, with some account of their religion; for which my readers are indebted to the researches of an ingenious gentleman of Jamaica, who is well acquainted with their language and manners. Its authenticity has been frequently confirmed to me, on my own enquiries among the Koromantyn Negroes themselves.

They believe that *Accompong*, the God of the heavens, is the creator of all things; a Deity of infinite goodness; to whom however they never offer sacrifices, thinking it sufficient to adore him with praises and thanksgiving.

Assarci is the god of the earth; to him they offer the first fruits of the ground, and pour out libations of the liquors they drink to his honour.

Ipboa is the god of the sea: if the arrival of ships which trade upon their coast is delayed, they sacrifice a hog to deprecate the wrath of Ipboa.

Obboney is a malicious deity, who pervades heaven, earth, and sea; he is the author of all evil, and when his displeasure is signified by the infliction of pestilential disorders, or otherwise, nothing will divert his anger but human sacrifices; which are selected from captives taken in war, or, if there be none present, then from their slaves.

Besides the above deities, every family has

a peculiar tutelar saint, who is supposed to have been originally a human being like one of themselves, and the first founder of their family; upon the anniversary of whose burial, the whole number of his descendants assemble round his grave, and the oldest man, after offering up praises to Accompong, Assarci, Ipboa, and their tutelar deity, sacrifices a cock or goat, by cutting its throat, and shedding the blood upon the grave. Every head of a household of the family next sacrifices a cock, or other animal, in like manner, and as soon as all those who are able to bring sacrifices have made their oblations, the animals which have been killed are dressed, and a great festival follows.

Among their other superstitions also, must not be omitted their mode of administering an oath of secrecy or purgation.—Human blood, and earth taken from the grave of some near relation, are mixed with water, and given to the party to be sworn, who is compelled to drink the mixture, with an imprecation, that it may cause the belly to burst, and the bones to rot, if the truth be not spoken. This test is frequently administered to their wives, on the suspicion of infidelity, and the resemblance which it bears to the trial of jealousy by the *bitter water* described in the book of Numbers (chap. v.) is a curious and striking circumstance.

I now proceed to the people of Whidah, or Fida. The Negroes of this country are called generally in the West Indies *Papaws*, and are unquestionably the most docile and best-disposed slaves that are imported from any part of Africa. Without the fierce and savage manners of the Koromantyn Negroes, they are also happily exempt from the timid and desponding temper of the Eboes, who will presently be mentioned. The cheerful acquiescence with which these people apply to the labours of the field, and their constitutional aptitude for such employment, arise, without doubt, from the great attention paid to agriculture in their native country. Bosman speaks with rapture of the improved state of the soil, the number of villages, and the industry, riches, and obliging manners of the natives. He observes, however, that they are much greater thieves than those of the Gold Coast, and very unlike them in another respect, namely, in the dread of pain, and the apprehension of death. "They are," says he, "so very apprehensive of death, that they are unwilling to hear it mentioned, for fear *that* alone should hasten their end; and no man dares to speak of death in the presence of the king, or any great man, under the penalty of suffering it himself, as a punishment for his presumption." He relates further, that they are addicted to gaming beyond any people

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of Africa. All these propensities, if I am rightly informed, are observable in the character of the Papaws in a state of slavery in the West Indies. That punishment which excites the Koromantyn to rebel, and drives the Ebo Negro to suicide, is received by the Papaws as the chastisement of legal authority, to which it is their duty to submit patiently. The case seems to be, that the generality of these people are in a state of absolute slavery in Africa, and, having been habituated to a life of labour, they submit to a change of situation with little reluctance.

Many of the Whidah Negroes are found to be circumcised. Whether it be a religious ceremony common to all the tribes that go under the appellation of Papaws I know not. It is practised universally by the *Nagoes*; a people that speak the Whidah language; but I have met with Negroes from this part of the coast that disavow the practice.

We are now come to the Bight of Benin, comprehending an extent of coast of near 300 English leagues, of which the interior countries are unknown, even by name, to the people of Europe. All the Negroes imported from these vast and unexplored regions, except a tribe which are distinguished by the name of *Mocoes*, are called in the West Indies *Eboes;* and in general they appear to be the lowest

and most wretched of all the nations of Africa. In complexion they are much yellower than the Gold Coast and Whidah Negroes; but it is a sickly hue, and their eyes appear as if suffused with bile, even when they are in perfect health. I cannot help observing too, that the conformation of the face, in a great majority of them, very much resembles that of the baboon. I believe indeed there is, in most of the nations of Africa, a greater elongation of the lower jaw than among the people of Europe; but this distinction I think is more visible among the Eboes than in any other Africans. I mean not however to draw any conclusion of natural inferiority in these people to the rest of the human race, from a circumstance which perhaps is purely accidental, and no more to be considered as a proof of degradation, than the red hair and high cheek bones of the natives of the North of Europe.

The great objection to the Eboes as slaves, is their constitutional timidity, and despondency of mind; which are so great as to occasion them very frequently to seek, in a voluntary death, a refuge from their own melancholy reflections. They require therefore the gentlest and mildest treatment to reconcile them to their situation; but if their confidence be once obtained, they manifest as great fidelity, affection, and gratitude, as can reasonably be expected

from men in a state of slavery. The females of this nation are better labourers than the men, probably from having been more hardly treated in Africa.

The depression of spirits which these people seem to be under, on their first arrival in the West Indies, gives them an air of softness and submission, which forms a striking contrast to the frank and fearless temper of the Koromantyn Negroes. Nevertheless, the Eboes are in fact more truly savage than any nation of the Gold Coast; inasmuch as many tribes among them, especially the Moco tribe, have been, without doubt, accustomed to the shocking practice of feeding on human flesh. This circumstance I have had attested beyond the possibility of dispute, by an intelligent trust-worthy domestic of the Ebo nation, who acknowledged to me, though with evident shame and reluctance, (having lived many years among the Whites) that he had himself, in his youth, frequently regaled on this horrid banquet: and his account received a shocking confirmation from a circumstance which occurred in the year 1770 in Antigua, where two Negroes of the same country were tried for killing and devouring one of their fellow-slaves in that island. They were purchased, a short time before, by a gentleman of the name of Christian, out of a ship from Old Calabar, and I am told were convicted on the clearest evidence.

Of the religious opinions and modes of worship of the Eboes, we know but little; except that, like the inhabitants of Whidah, they pay adoration to certain reptiles, of which the guana (a species of lizard) is in the highest estimation.* They universally practise circumcision, "which, with some other of their superstitions (says Purchas), may seem Mahometan, but are more likely to be ancient Ethnic rites; for many countries of Africa admit circumcision, and yet know not, or acknowledge not, Mahometanism; but are either Christians,

* I have been assured by an intelligent person who had visited many parts of Africa, that the Eboes frequently offer up human sacrifices in their worship of this animal. Perhaps the certainty of this may be questioned; but the following anecdote is undoubtedly true. In the year 1787, two of the seamen of a Liverpool ship trading at Bonny, being ashore watering, had the misfortune to kill a guana, as they were rolling a cask to the beach. An outcry was immediately raised among the natives, and the boat's crew were surrounded and seized, and all trade interdicted, until public justice shonld be satisfied and appeased. The offenders, being carried before the king, or chief man of the place, were adjudged to die. However the severity of justice being softened by a bribe from the captain, the sentence was at length changed to the following, that they should pay a fine of 700 bars (about 75*l.*) and remain in the country as slaves to the king, until the money should be raised. The captain not being willing to advance so large a sum for the redemption of these poor wretches, sailed without them, and what became of them afterwards I have not heard.

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as the Cophti, Abissinians, or Gentiles. They (the people of Benin) cut or rase the skin with three lines drawn to the navel, esteeming it necessary to salvation."

Next in order to the Whidah Negroes, are those from Congo and Angola; whom I consider to have been originally the same people. I can say but little of them that is appropriate and particular; except that they are in general a slender sightly race, of a deep and glossy black (a tribe of the Congoes excepted, who very nearly resemble the Eboes), and I believe of a disposition naturally mild and docile. They appear to me to be fitter for domestic service than for field-labour. They are said however to become expert mechanics; and, what is much to their honour, they are supposed to be more strictly honest than many other of the African tribes.

Having thus recited such observations as have occurred to me on contemplating the various African nations in the West Indies separately and distinct from each other, I shall now attempt an estimate of their general character and dispositions, influenced, as undoubtedly they are in a great degree, by their situation and condition in a state of slavery; circumstances that soon efface the native original impression which distinguishes one nation from

another in Negroes newly imported, and create a similitude of manners, and a uniformity of character throughout the whole body.

Thus, notwithstanding what has been related of the firmness and courage of the natives of the Gold Coast, it is certain that the Negroes in general in our islands (such of them at least as have been any length of time in a state of servitude) are of a distrustful and cowardly disposition. So degrading is the nature of slavery, that fortitude of mind is lost as free agency is restrained. To the same cause probably must be imputed their propensity to conceal, or violate the truth; which is so general, that I think the vice of falsehood is one of the most prominent features in their character. If a Negro is asked even an indifferent question by his master, he seldom gives an immediate reply; but, affecting not to understand what is said, compels a repetition of the question, that he may have time to consider, not what is the true answer, but what is the most politic one for him to give. The proneness observable in many of them to the vice of theft has already been noticed; and I am afraid that evil communication makes it almost general.

It is no easy matter, I confess, to discriminate those circumstances which are the result of proximate causes, from those which are the effects of national customs and early habits in

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savage life; but I am afraid that cowardice and dissimulation have been the properties of slavery in all ages, and will continue to be so, to the end of the world. It is a situation that necessarily suppresses many of the best affections of the human heart.—If it calls forth any latent virtues, they are those of sympathy and compassion towards persons in the same condition of life; and accordingly we find that the Negroes in general are strongly attached to their countrymen, but, above all, to such of their companions as came in the same ship with them from Africa. This is a striking circumstance: the term *shipmate* is understood among them as signifying a relationship of the most endearing nature; perhaps as recalling the time when the sufferers were cut off together from their common country and kindred, and awakening reciprocal sympathy, from the remembrance of mutual affliction.

But their benevolence, with a very few exceptions, extends no further. The softer virtues are seldom found in the bosom of the enslaved African. Give him sufficient authority, and he becomes the most remorseless of tyrants. Of all the degrees of wretchedness endured by the sons of men, the greatest, assuredly, is the misery which is felt by those who are unhappily doomed to be the Slaves of Slaves; a most unnatural relation, which sometimes takes place

in the sugar plantations; as for instance, when it is found necessary to instruct young Negroes in certain trades or handicraft employments. In those cases it is usual to place them in a sort of apprenticeship to such of the old Negroes as are competent to give them instruction; but the harshness with which these people enforce their authority is extreme; and it serves in some degree to lessen the indignation which a good mind necessarily feels at the abuses of power by the Whites, to observe that the Negroes themselves, when invested with command, give full play to their revengeful passions; and exercise all the wantonness of cruelty without restraint or remorse.

The same observation may be made concerning their conduct towards the inferior animal creation. Their treatment of cattle under their direction is brutal beyond belief. Even the useful and social qualities of the dog secure to him no kind usage from an African master. Although there is scarce a Negro that is not attended by one, they seem to maintain these poor animals solely for the purpose of having an object whereon to exercise their caprice and cruelty. And, by the way, it is a singular circumstance, and not the less true for being somewhat ludicrous, that the animal itself, when the property of a Negro, betrays at first sight that such is his condition; for, losing his playful

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propensities, he seems to feel the inferiority of his station, and actually crouches before such of his own species as are used to better company. With the manners, he acquires also the cowardly, thievish, and sullen disposition of his African tyrant.

But notwithstanding what has been related of the selfish and unrelenting temper of the enslaved Africans, they are said to be highly susceptible of the passion of love. It has even been supposed that they are more subject to, and sensible of, its impression, than the natives of colder climates. "The Negro (says Dr. Robertson) glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his climate." "The tender passion (says another writer) is the most ardent one in the breast of the enslaved African.—It is the only source of his joys, and his only solace in affliction." Monsieur de Chanvalon (the historian of Martinico) expatiates on the same idea with great eloquence.—"Love (says he) the child of nature, to whom she entrusts her own preservation; whose progress no difficulties can retard, and who triumphs even in chains; that principle of life, as necessary to the harmony of the universe, as the air which we breathe, inspires and invigorates all the thoughts and purposes of the Negro, and lightens the yoke of his slavery. No perils can abate, nor impending punishments restrain, the

ardour of his passion.—He leaves his master's habitation, and traversing the wilderness by night disregarding its noxious inhabitants,—seeks a refuge from his sorrows, in the bosom of his faithful and affectionate mistress."

All this however is the language of poetry and the visions of romance. The poor Negro has no leisure in a state of slavery to indulge a passion, which, however descended, is nourished by idleness. If by love, is meant that tender attachment to one individual object, which, in civilised life, is desire heightened by sentiment, and refined by delicacy, I doubt if it ever found a place in an African bosom.—The Negroes in the West Indies, both men and women, would consider it as the greatest exertion of tyranny, and the most cruel of all hardships, to be compelled to confine themselves to a single connection with the other sex; and I am persuaded that any attempt to restrain their present licentious and dissolute manners, by introducing the marriage ceremony among them, as is strenuously recommended by many persons in Great Britain, would be utterly impracticable to any good purpose. Perhaps it may be thought that the Negroes are not altogether reduced to so deplorable a state of slavery, as is commonly represented, when it is known that they boldly claim and exercise a

right of disposing of themselves in this respect, according to their own will and pleasure, without any controul from their masters.

That passion therefore to which (dignified by the name of Love) is ascribed the power of softening all the miseries of slavery, is mere animal desire, implanted by the great Author of all things for the preservation of the species. This the Negroes, without doubt, possess in common with the rest of the animal creation, and they indulge it, as inclination prompts, in an almost promiscuous intercourse with the other sex; or at least in temporary connections, which they form without ceremony, and dissolve without reluctance. When age indeed begins to mitigate the ardour, and lessen the fickleness of youth, many of them form attachments, which strengthened by habit, and endeared by the consciousness of mutual imbecility, produce an union for life. It is not uncommon to behold a venerable couple of this stamp, who, tottering under the load of years, contribute to each other's comfort, with a cheerful assiduity which is at once amiable and affecting.

The situation of the aged among the Negroes is indeed commonly such as to make them some amends for the hardships and sufferings of their youth. The labour required of the men is seldom any thing more than to guard the pro-

vision grounds; and the women are chiefly employed in attending the children, in nursing the sick, or in other easy avocations; but their happiness chiefly arises from the high veneration in which old age is held by the Negroes in general, and this I consider as one of the few pleasing traits in their character. In addressing such of their fellow-servants as are any ways advanced in years, they prefix to their names the appellation of Parent, as *Ta* Quaco, and *Ma* Quasheba; *Ta* and *Ma* signifying Father and Mother, by which designation they mean to convey not only the idea of filial reverence, but also that of esteem and fondness. Neither is the regard thus displayed towards the aged confined to outward ceremonies and terms of respect alone. It is founded on an active principle of native benevolence, furnishing one of the few exceptions to their general unrelenting and selfish character. The whole body of Negroes on a plantation must be reduced to a deplorable state of wretchedness, if, at any time, they suffer their aged companions to want the common necessaries of life, or even many of its comforts, as far as they can procure them. They seem to me to be actuated on these occasions by a kind of involuntary impulse, operating as a primitive law of nature, which scorns to wait the cold dictates of reason; among them, it is the exercise of a com-

mon duty, which courts no observation, and looks for no applause.*

Among other propensities and qualities of the Negroes must not be omitted their loquaciousness. They are as fond of exhibiting set speeches, as orators by profession; but it requires a considerable share of patience to hear them throughout; for they commonly make a long preface before they come to the point; beginning with a tedious enumeration of their past services and hardships. They dwell with peculiar energy (if the fact admits it) on the number of children they have presented to *Massa (Master)*, after which they recapitulate some of the instances of particular kindness shewn them by their owner or employer, adducing these also as proofs of their own merit; it being evident, they think, that no such kind-

* The greatest affront (says Mr. Long) that can be offered to a Negro, is to curse his father and mother, or any of his progenitors. It may not be improper in this place to add, that many of the Negroes attain to great longevity. In February 1792, a Black woman of the name of Flora Gale, died at the very extraordinary age of 120, at Savanna-la-Mar in Jamaica. She remembered perfectly well the great earthquake in 1692, which proved so fatal to Port Royal. She left a numerous progeny of children, grand and great-grand-children, and it is remarkable that she always refused to be baptised, assigning for reason her desire to have a grand Negro dance at her funeral, according to the custom of Africa; a ceremony never allowed in Jamaica at the burial of such as have been christened.

ness can be gratuitous. This is their usual exordium, as well when they bring complaints against others, as when they are called upon to defend themselves; and it is in vain to interrupt either plaintiff or defendant. Yet I have sometimes heard them convey much strong meaning in a narrow compass: I have been surprised by such figurative expressions, and (notwithstanding their ignorance of abstract terms) such pointed sentences, as would have reflected no disgrace on poets and philosophers. One instance recurs to my memory, of so significant a turn of expression in a common labouring Negro, who could have had no opportunity of improvement from the conversation of White people, as is alone, I think, sufficient to demonstrate that Negroes have minds very capable of observation. It was a servant who had brought me a letter, and, while I was preparing an answer, had, through weariness and fatigue, fallen asleep on the floor: as soon as the papers were ready, I directed him to be awakened; but this was no easy matter. When the Negro who attempted to awake him exclaimed in the usual jargon, *You no hear Massa call you?* that is, Don't you hear Master call you? *Sleep*, replied the poor fellow, looking up, and returning composedly to his slumbers, *Sleep hab no Massa.* (Sleep has no Master.)

Of those imitative arts in which perfection can be attained only in an improved state of society, it is natural to suppose that the Negroes have but little knowledge. An opinion prevails in Europe that they possess organs peculiarly adapted to the science of music; but this I believe is an ill-founded idea. In vocal harmony they display neither variety nor compass. Nature seems in this respect to have dealt more penuriously by them than towards the rest of the human race. As practical musicians, some of them, by great labour and careful instruction, become sufficiently expert to bear an under-part in a public concert; but I do not recollect ever to have seen or heard of a Negro who could truly be called a fine performer on any capital instrument. In general they prefer a loud and long-continued noise to the finest harmony, and frequently consume the whole night *in beating on a board with a stick*. This is in fact one of their chief musical instruments; besides which, they have the *Banja* or *Merriwang*, the *Dundo* and the *Goombay;* all of African origin. The first is an imperfect kind of violincello; except that it is played on by the finger like the guitar; producing a dismal monotony of four notes. The Dundo is precisely a tabor; and the Goombay is a rustic drum; being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree, one end of which is covered with a

sheep's skin. From such instruments nothing like a regular tune can be expected, nor is it attempted.

Their songs are commonly *impromptu*, and there are among them individuals who resemble the *improvisatori*, or extempore bards, of Italy; but I cannot say much for their poetry. Their tunes, in general, are characteristic of their national manners; those of the Eboes being soft and languishing; of the Koromantyns, heroic and martial. At the same time, there is observable, in most of them, a predominant melancholy, which, to a man of feeling, is sometimes very affecting.

At their merry meetings, and midnight festivals, they are not without ballads of another kind, adapted to such occasions; and here they give full scope to a talent for ridicule and derision, which is exercised not only against each other, but also, not unfrequently, at the expence of their owner or employer; but most part of their songs at these places are fraught with obscene ribaldry, and accompanied with dances in the highest degree licentious and wanton.

At other times, more especially at the burial of such among them as were respected in life, or venerable through age, they exhibit a sort of *Pyrrhick* or warlike dance, in which their bodies are strongly agitated by running, leap-

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ing, and jumping, with many violent and frantic gestures and contortions. Their funeral songs too are all of the heroic or martial cast; affording some colour to the prevalent notion, that the Negroes consider death not only as a welcome and happy release from the calamities of their condition, but also as a passport to the place of their nativity; a deliverance which, while it frees them from bondage, restores them to the society of their dearest, long-lost, and lamented relatives in Africa. But I am afraid that this, like other European notions concerning the Negroes, is the dream of poetry; the sympathetic effusion of a fanciful or too credulous an imagination.* The Negroes,

* Perhaps it was some such imagination that gave rise to the following little poem—the production of early youth, and now published for the first time.

ODE ON SEEING A NEGRO FUNERAL.

MAHALI dies! O'er yonder plain
His bier is borne: the sable train
By youthful virgins led:
Daughters of injur'd Afric, say
Why raise ye thus th' heroic lay,
Why triumph o'er the dead?

No tear bedews their fixed eye:
'Tis now the Hero lives, they cry:—
Releas'd from slav'ry's chain:
Beyond the billowy surge he flies,
And joyful views his native skies,
And long-lost bowers, again.

in general, are so far from courting death, that, among such of them as have resided any length of time in the West Indies, suicide is

On Koromantyn's palmy soil,
Heroic deeds and martial toil
Shall fill each glorious day;
Love, fond and faithful, crown thy nights,
And bliss unbought, unmixed delights,
Past cruel wrongs repay.

Nor lordly pride's stern avarice there,
Alone shall nature's bounties share;
To all her children free.—
For thee the dulcet Reed shall spring,
His balmy bowl the Coco bring,
Th' Anana bloom for thee.

The thunder, hark! 'Tis Afric's God,
He wakes, he lifts th' avenging rod,
And speeds th' impatient hours;
From Niger's golden stream he calls;
Fair freedom comes,—oppression falls
And vengeance yet is ours!

Now, Christian, now, in wild dismay,
Of Afric's proud revenge the prey,
Go roam th' affrighted wood;—
Transform'd to tigers, fierce and fell,
Thy race shall prowl with savage yell,
And glut their rage for blood!

But soft,—beneath yon tam'rind shade,
Now let the Hero's limbs be laid;
Sweet slumbers bless the brave:
There shall the breezes shed perfume,
Nor vivid lightnings blast the bloom
That decks MAHALY's grave.

much less frequent than among the free-born, happy, and civilised inhabitants of Great Britian. With them, equally with the Whites, nature shrinks back at approaching dissolution; and when, at any time, sudden or untimely death overtakes any of their companions, instead of rejoicing at such an event, they never fail to impute it to the malicious contrivances and diabolical arts of some practitioners in *Obeah*, a term of African origin, signifying sorcery or witchcraft, the prevalence of which, among many of their countrymen, all the Negroes most firmly and implicitly believe. We may conclude, therefore, that their funeral songs and ceremonies are commonly nothing more than the dissonance of savage barbarity and riot; as remote from the fond superstition to which they are ascribed, as from the sober dictates of a rational sorrow.

Having mentioned the practice of *Obeah*, the influence of which has so powerful an effect on the Negroes, as to bias, in a considerable degree, their general conduct, dispositions, and manners, I shall conclude the present chapter by presenting to my readers the following very curious account of this extraordinary superstition, and its effects; it was transmitted by the Agent of Jamaica to the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, and by them subjoined to the report on the slave trade; and, if I mis-

take not, the public are chiefly indebted for it to the diligent researches, and accurate pen, of Mr. Long. CHAP. III.

" The term *Obeah*, *Obiah*, or *Obia* (for it is variously written) we conceive to be the adjective, and *Obe* or *Obi* the noun substantive; and that by the words *Obia*-men or women, are meant those who practise *Obi*. The origin of the term we should consider as of no importance in our answer to the questions proposed, if, in search of it, we were not led to disquisitions that are highly gratifying to curiosity. From the learned Mr. Bryant's * commentary upon the word *Oph*, we obtain a very probable etymology of the term—" A serpent, in " the Egyptian language, was called *Ob* or " *Aub*."—" *Obion* is still the Egyptian name " for a serpent."—" Moses, in the name of " God, forbids the Israelites ever to inquire of " the demon *Ob*, which is translated in our " Bible, Charmer, or Wizard, Divinator, aut " Sorcilegus."——" The woman at Endor is " called *Oub* or *Ob*, translated Pythonissa; and " *Oubaois* (he cites from *Horus Apollo)* was " the name of the Basilisk or Royal Serpent, " emblem of the sun, and an ancient oracular " Deity of Africa." This derivation, which applies to one particular sect, the remnant pro-

* Mythology, vol. 1. p. 48, 475, and 478.

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bably of a very celebrated religious order in remote ages, is now become in Jamaica the general term to denote those Africans who in that island practise witchcraft or sorcery, comprehending also the class of what are called Myalmen, or those who, by means of a narcotic potion, made with the juice of a herb (said to be the branched *Calalue* or species of *Solanum)* which occasions a trance or profound sleep of a certain duration, endeavour to convince the deluded spectators of their power to re-animate dead bodies.

"As far as we are able to decide from our own experience and information when we lived in the island, and from the current testimony of all the Negroes we have ever conversed with on the subject, the professors of *Obi* are, and always were, natives of Africa, and none other; and they have brought the science with them from thence to Jamaica, where it is so universally practised, that we believe there are few of the large estates possessing native Africans, which have not one or more of them. The oldest and most crafty are those who usually attract the greatest devotion and confidence; those whose hoary heads, and a somewhat peculiarly harsh and forbidding in their aspect, together with some skill in plants of the medical and poisonous species, have qualified them for successful imposition upon the weak

and credulous. The Negroes in general, whether Africans or Creoles, revere, consult, and fear them; to these oracles they resort, and with the most implicit faith, upon all occasions, whether for the cure of disorders, the obtaining revenge for injuries or insults, the conciliating of favour, the discovery and punishment of the thief or the adulterer, and the prediction of future events. The trade which these impostors carry on is extremely lucrative; they manufacture and sell their *Obeis* adapted to the different cases and at different prices. A veil of mystery is studiously thrown over their incantations, to which the midnight hours are allotted, and every precaution is taken to conceal them from the knowledge and discovery of the White people. The deluded Negroes, who thoroughly believe in their supernatural power, become the willing accomplices in this concealment, and the stoutest among them tremble at the very sight of the ragged bundle, the bottle or the egg-shells, which are stuck in the thatch or hung over the door of a hut, or upon the branch of a plantain tree, to deter marauders. In cases of poison, the natural effects of it are by the ignorant Negroes, ascribed entirely to the potent workings of *Obi*. The wiser Negroes hesitate to reveal their suspicions, through a dread of incurring the terrible vengeance which is fulminated by the

Obeah-men against any who should betray them: it is very difficult therefore for the White proprietor to distinguish the *Obeah professor* from any other Negro upon his plantation; and so infatuated are the Blacks in general, that but few instances occur of their having assumed courage enough to impeach these miscreants. With minds so firmly prepossessed, they no sooner find *Obi set for them* near the door of their houses, or in the path which leads to it, than they give themselves up for lost. When a Negro is robbed of a fowl or a hog, he applies directly to the *Obeah*-man or woman; it is then made known among his fellow Blacks, that *Obi is set* for the thief; and as soon as the latter hears the dreadful news, his terrified imagination begins to work, no resource is left but in the superior skill of some more eminent *Obeah-man* of the neighbourhood, who may counteract the magical operations of the other; but if no one can be found of higher rank and ability; or if, after gaining such an ally, he should still fancy himself affected, he presently falls into a decline, under the incessant horror of impending calamities. The slightest painful sensation in the head, the bowels, or any other part, any casual loss or hurt, confirms his apprehensions, and he believes himself the devoted victim of an invisible and irresistible agency. Sleep, appetite, and cheerfulness, for-

sake him; his strength decays, his disturbed imagination is haunted without respite, his features wear the settled gloom of despondency: dirt, or any other unwholesome substance, becomes his only food, he contracts a morbid habit of body, and gradually sinks into the grave. A Negro, who is taken ill, inquires of the *Obeah-man* the cause of his sickness, whether it will prove mortal or not, and within what time he shall die or recover? The oracle generally ascribes the distemper to the malice of some particular person by name, and advises to set *Obi* for that person; but if no hopes are given of recovery, immediate despair takes place, which no medicine can remove, and death is the certain consequence. Those anomalous symptoms which originate from causes deeply rooted in the mind, such as the terrors of *Obi*, or from poisons whose operation is slow and intricate, will baffle the skill of the ablest physician.

"Considering the multitude of occasions which may provoke the Negroes to exercise the powers of *Obi* against each other, and the astonishing influence of this superstition upon their minds, we cannot but attribute a very considerable portion of the annual mortality among the Negroes of Jamaica to this fascinating mischief.

"The *Obi* is usually composed of a farrago of materials, most of which are enumerated in

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the Jamaica law,* viz. "Blood, feathers, "parrots' beaks, dogs' teeth, alligators' teeth, "broken bottles, grave-dirt, rum, and egg-"shells."

"With a view to illustrate the description we have given of this practice, and its common effects, we have subjoined a few examples out of the very great number which have occurred in Jamaica, not that they were peculiar to that island only, for we believe similar examples may be found in other West India colonies. *Pere Labat*, in his history of Martinico, has mentioned some which are very remarkable.†

"It may seem extraordinary, that a practice alleged to be so frequent in Jamaica should not have received an earlier check from the legislature. The truth is, that the skill of some Negroes, in the art of poisoning, has been noticed ever since the colonists became much acquainted with them. Sloane and Barham, who practised physic in Jamaica in the last century, have mentioned particular instances of it. The secret and insidious manner in which this crime is generally perpetrated, makes the legal proof of it extremely difficult. Suspicions therefore have been frequent, but detections rare: these murderers have *sometimes* been brought to justice, but it is the reason-

* Passed 1760. † Tome ii. p. 59, 447, 499, 506.

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able to believe that a far greater number have escaped with impunity. In regard to the other and more common tricks of *Obi*, such as hanging up feathers, bottles, egg-shells, &c. &c. in order to intimidate Negroes of a thievish disposition from plundering huts, hog-sties, or provision grounds, these were laughed at by the White inhabitants as harmless stratagems, contrived by the more sagacious, for deterring the more simple and superstitious Blacks, and serving for much the same purpose as the scarecrows which are in general used among our English farmers and gardeners. But in the year 1760, when a very formidable insurrection of the Koromantyn or Gold Coast Negroes broke out in the parish of St. Mary, and spread through almost every other district of the island, an old Koromantyn Negro, the chief instigator and oracle of the insurgents in that parish, who had administered the Fetish or solemn oath to the conspirators, and furnished them with a magical preparation which was to render them invulnerable, was fortunately apprehended, convicted, and hung up with all his feathers and trumperies about him; and his execution struck the insurgents with a general panic, from which they never afterwards recovered. The examinations which were taken at that period, first opened the eyes of the public to the very dangerous tendency

of the *Obeah* practices, and gave birth to the law which was then enacted for their suppression and punishment. But neither the terror of this law, the strict investigation which has ever since been made after the professors of *Obi*, nor the many examples of those who from time to time have been hanged or transported, have hitherto produced the desired effect. We conclude, therefore, that either this sect, like others in the world, has flourished under persecution; or that fresh supplies are annually introduced from the African seminaries.

The following is the paper referred to in the preceding account.

OBEAH PRACTICE.

"We have the following narratives from a planter in Jamaica, a gentleman of the strictest veracity, who is now in London, and ready to attest the truth of them.

"Upon returning to Jamaica in the year 1775, he found that a great many of his Negroes had died during his absence; and that of such as remained alive, at least one-half were debilitated, bloated, and in a very deplorable condition. The mortality continued after his arrival, and two or three were frequently buried in one day; others were taken ill, and

began to decline under the same symptoms. Every means were tried by medicines, and the most careful nursing, to preserve the lives of the feeblest; but in spite of all his endeavours, this depopulation went on for above a twelve-month longer, with more or less intermission, and without his being able to ascertain the real cause, though the *Obeah practice* was strongly suspected, as well by himself, as by the doctor and other white persons upon the plantation, as it was known to have been very common in that part of the island, and particularly among the Negroes of the *Papaw* or *Popo* country. Still he was unable to verify his suspicions, because the patients constantly denied their having any thing to do with persons of that order, or any knowledge of them. At length a Negress, who had been ill for some time, came one day and informed him, that feeling it was impossible for her to live much longer, she thought herself bound in duty, before she died, to impart a very great secret, and acquaint him with the true cause of her disorder, in hopes that the disclosure might prove the means of stopping that mischief, which had already swept away such a number of her fellow-slaves. She proceeded to say, that her step-mother (a woman of the *Popo* country, above eighty years old, but still hale and active) had put *Obi upon her*, as she had

also done upon those who had lately died; and that the old woman had practised *Obi* for as many years past as she could remember.

"The other Negroes of the plantation no sooner heard of this impeachment, than they ran in a body to their master, and confirmed the truth of it, adding, that she had carried on this business ever since her arrival from Africa, and was the terror of the whole neighbourhood. Upon this he repaired directly, with six White servants, to the old woman's house, and forcing the door open, observed the whole inside of the roof (which was of thatch) and every crevice of the walls stuck with the implements of her trade, consisting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thousand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, close covered, was found concealed under her bed.—It contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay of various dimensions, large and small, whitened on the outside, and variously compounded, some with hair and rags, or feathers of all sorts, and strongly bound with twine; others blended with the upper section of the skulls of cats, or stuck round with cats' teeth and claws, or with human or dogs' teeth, and some glass beads of different colours; there were also a great many egg-shells filled with a viscous or gummy substance, the qualities of which he neglected to examine; and many little bags

stuffed with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot at this distance of time be recollected. The house was instantly pulled down, and with the whole of its contents committed to the flames, amidst the general acclamations of all his other Negroes. In regard to the old woman, he declined bringing her to trial under the law of the Island, which would have punished her with death; but, from a principle of humanity, delivered her into the hands of a party of Spaniards, who (as she was thought capable of doing some trifling kind of work) were very glad to accept and carry her with them to Cuba. From the moment of her departure, his Negroes seemed all to be animated with new spirits, and the malady spread no farther among them. The total of his losses in the course of about fifteen years preceding the discovery, and imputable solely to the *Obeah practice*, he estimates at least, at one hundred Negroes."

OBEAH TRIALS.

"HAVING received some further information upon this subject from another Jamaica gentleman, who sat upon *two* trials, we beg leave to deliver the same in his own words, as a supple-

ment to what we have already had the honour of submitting.

" In the year 1760, the influence of the professors of the *Obeah art* was such, as to induce a great many of the Negro slaves in Jamaica to engage in the rebellion which happened in that year, and which gave rise to the law which was then made against the practice of *Obi*.

" Assurance was given to these deluded people, that they were to become invulnerable; and in order to render them so, the *Obeah-men* furnished them with a powder, with which they were to rub themselves.

" In the first engagement with the rebels, nine of them were killed, and many prisoners taken; amongst the latter was one very intelligent fellow, who offered to disclose many important matters, on condition that his life should be spared; which was promised. He then related the active part which the Negroes, known among them by the name of *Obeah-men* had taken in propagating the insurrection; one of whom was thereupon apprehended, tried (for rebellious conspiracy), convicted, and sentenced to death.

" *N. B.* This was the Koromantyn Obeahman alluded to in our first paper.

" At the place of execution, he bid defiance to the executioner, telling him, that " It was

not in the power of the White people to kill him." And the Negroes (spectators) were greatly perplexed when they saw him expire. Upon other *Obeah-men*, who were apprehended at that time, various experiments were made with electrical machines and magic lanterns, but with very little effect, except on one, who, after receiving some very severe shocks, acknowledged that his master's *Obi* exceeded his own."

"The gentleman from whom we have this account, remembers having sat *twice* on trials of *Obeah-men*, who were both convicted of selling their *Obeah preparations*, which had occasioned the death of the parties to whom they had been administered; notwithstanding which the lenity of their judges prevailed so far, that they were only punished with transportation. To prove the fact, two witnesses were deemed necessary, with corroborating circumstances."

CHAPTER IV.

Means of obtaining Slaves in Africa.—Observations thereon.—Objections to a direct and immediate abolition of the trade by the British Nation only.—The probable consequences of such a measure, both in Africa and the West Indies, considered.—Disproportion of sexes in the number of Slaves annually exported from Africa.—Causes thereof.—Mode of transporting Negroes to the West Indies, and regulations recently established by act of parliament.—Effect of those regulations.

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It hath been observed in a former chapter, that no certain and precise account is easily to be obtained of the means by which the market for slaves is annually kept up and supported in Africa. The several instances that are given of slavery arising from captivity in war, delinquency, and debt, seem inadequate to so regular and abundant a supply. It is difficult to imagine that casual contributions of this kind, can possibly furnish an annual export of 74,000*. Having an opportunity, a few

* Besides which great numbers are supplied from the nations bordering on the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, for the emperor of Morocco and the states of Barbary. Caravans also travel from thence across the continent to Upper

years ago, of consulting a very intelligent person on this point, who had visited many parts of the coast, and appeared to be a man of veracity and candour, I received from him, in writing, an answer, which I shall present to my readers *verbatim;* and subjoin such further information as I have been able to collect. The answer which I received was given in the words following:—"In all parts of the coast, and I apprehend it to be the same inland, the body of the people are in a state of absolute and unlimited slavery; their children are born to no other inheritance, and are liable to be sold by their owners as they think proper. Most parts of the coast differ in their governments; some are absolute monarchies, while others draw near to an aristocracy. In both the authority of the chief or chiefs is unlimited, extending to life, and it is exercised as often as criminal cases require, unless death is commuted into slavery; in which case the offender is sold, and if the shipping will not buy the criminal, he is immediately put to death. Fathers of free condition have power to sell their

Egypt with considerable supplies of Negroes, some of which are sent afterwards to Constantinople. A very curious and interesting account of this traffic is given in the Report of the Lords of the Privy Council. Great numbers of slaves are likewise sent from Mozambique, and the ports on the eastern coast, to Persia, Goa, and other parts of the East Indies. Hence it has been calculated that Africa is drained annually of not less than 150,000 of its natives.

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children, but this power is but very seldom enforced. I never knew an instance of it but once, and then the father was so execrated by his neighbours, for the act of selling a son and daughter, that he shortly afterwards fell into a state of despondency and died. The family was of some distinction, and the son and daughter were bought by a friendly captain, who I know afterwards gave freedom to one of them, and I believe he gave it to both. I never knew another instance of this kind, nor do I believe there is one slave in a thousand procured in this way. Neither do I imagine that there are many procured by wars or intestine broils. The truth is, the bulk of the people are born slaves to great men, reared as such, held as property, and as property sold. There are indeed many circumstances by which a free man may become a slave: such as being in debt, and not able to pay; and in some of such cases, if the debt be large, not only the debtor, but his family likewise, become the slaves of his creditors, and may be sold. Adultery is commonly punished in the same manner; both the offending parties being sold, and the purchase-money paid to the injured husband. *Obi*, or pretended witchcraft (in which all the Negroes firmly believe, and it is generally accompanied with the crime of poisoning) is another, and a very common offence, for which slavery is adjudged

the lawful punishment; and it extends to all the family of the offender. There are various other crimes which subject the offender and his children to be sold; and it is more than probable, that if there were no buyers, the poor wretches would be murdered without mercy."

Such is the account which I received, and it is confirmed by several of the witnesses that were examined by the Committee of the Privy Council, and by others that appeared before the House of Commons; but it is contradicted in some material circumstances by other gentlemen, whose examinations were taken at the same time. Mr. Penny asserts, that although three-fourths of the inhabitants of the Windward Coast are slaves to the other fourth, yet that these local and domestic slaves are never sold unless for crimes. He is of opinion that in no country, either in the maritime districts or in the interior parts of Africa, are slaves bred for sale, but that most of those which are disposed of to Europeans are sold in consequence of delinquency, or captivity in war. The same, or nearly the same account, is given of the Fantyn nation by Mr. Norris; who observes, that "a considerable portion of the community are persons born slaves, but that these have peculiar privileges, and enjoy many advantages, which the slaves of the neighbouring countries do not, and cannot be sold at the

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caprice of their masters." His opinion is, that the number of slaves furnished in the Fantyn country (about 2,000 annually) is made up by delinquency and debt. *

Under such contradictory information, it occurred to me, during my residence in Jamaica, to examine many of the Negroes themselves. I mean Negroes newly arrived from Africa; for from those who have resided any length of time in the West Indies, it is difficult to obtain, even to enquiries of an indifferent nature, such answers as carry with them conviction of their truth. It is seldom, for instance, that any Guiney Negro will acknowledge that he was in a state of slavery in his native country. Observing the respect and pre-eminence allowed to wealth and consequence among the Whites, and the privileges which attach to freedom in the West Indies, among those of his own colour who are born or rendered free, he is tempted, whether justly or not, to assert his claim to some degree of con-

* Several other witnesses speak of the privileges which attach to domestic slaves in Africa, but it is observable that many of these admit, and not one I believe denies, that the African master has the power of putting such slaves to death, with impunity, whenever he thinks proper; and it will presently be shewn from the testimony of some of the Negroes themselves, that it is a mistake to suppose the master cannot sell them at pleasure.

sideration from his past, if not from his present condition; and it is a natural and excusable propensity. Conceiving therefore that the truth might be best obtained from Negroes recently imported, I enquired of many young people, from different parts of Africa, concerning the circumstances of their captivity and sale; and having reduced their information to writing, I interrogated many of them again on the same subject, after an interval of several months. If the same account precisely was given by the same people a second time, I commonly considered it as grounded in truth. On other occasions, I have examined brothers and sisters apart. If their information agreed in minute particulars, I could have no reason to suspect them of falsehood. Of five-and-twenty young persons of both sexes whom I thus interrogated, fifteen frankly declared that they were born to slavery, and were either sold to pay the debts, or bartered away to supply the wants of their owners. Five were secretly kidnapped in the interior country, and sold to Black merchants, who conveyed them from an immense distance to the sea-coast, and sold them to the ship-masters that brought them to Jamaica. The other five appeared to have fallen victims in some of those petty wars which it is probable rapacity and revenge reciprocally instigate throughout the whole continent of

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Africa.* On such occasions, the young and the able are carried into captivity by the vic-

* Perhaps the reader will not be displeased to be presented with a few of these examinations, as they were taken down at the time, and without any view to publication.

Adam (a Congo) a boy as I guess about fourteen, his country name *Sarri*, came from a vast distance inland, was waylaid and stole, in the path about three miles from his own village, by one of his countrymen. It was early in the morning, and the man hid him all the day in the woods, and marched him in the night. He was conducted in this manner for a month, and then sold to another Black man for a gun, some powder and shot, and a quantity of salt. He was sold a second time for a keg of brandy. His last-mentioned purchaser bought several other boys in the same manner, and when he had collected twenty, sent them down to the sea-coast, where they were sold to a captain of a ship. He relates further, that his father, *Scindia Quante*, was a chief or captain under the king, and a great warrior, and had taken many people, whom he sold as slaves.

Quaw and *Quamina* (brothers) from the Gold Coast, one of them, as I guess, about twenty years old, the other eighteen, were born slaves to a man named *Banafou*, who had a great many other slaves, and sold these two to the captain that brought them to Jamaica. On being asked for what cause their master sold them, they supposed the question implied a charge against them of misconduct, and one of them replied with great quickness, that they were not the only slaves that were sold in Guiney without having been guilty of any crime: their master, they said, owed money, and sold them to pay his debts.

Afiba, a Gold Coast girl, aged about fifteen, was a slave to a man named *Quamina Yati*. Her master sold her and two others to some captain, for a quantity of linen and other goods.

tors, and the aged and infirm commonly murdered on the spot. By these means, and the commutation of death into slavery for crimes real and pretended, are the nations of Europe supplied; and it cannot surely be a question, amongst a

Yamousa, a *Chamba* youth, about sixteen, was a slave to a person named *Saubadou*; who sold him, together with a cow, for a gun, a quantity of other goods, and some brandy.

Oliver, from *Assiantee*—his country name *Sang*—a young man, as I guess, about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. His father was a free man, a carpenter—lived in a village far from the sea. The village was attacked by a party of Fantees, who came in the night, and set fire to the houses, and killed most of the inhabitants with guns and cutlasses—particularly the old. The young people they took prisoners, and afterwards sold him and two others, for a piece of gold called *sica*, to a Black merchant, who carried them to the Fantee country.—He was afterwards sold or transferred over to six different Black purchasers; the last of whom carried him down to the sea-coast, and sold him on board a ship.—Was much frightened at the sight of White men, and thought he was to be eaten.

Esther relates that she was born in the Ebo country, about one day's journey from the sea-coast, where her grandmother lived, to whom she was sent on a visit by her father. While there, the village was attacked by a body of Negroes (she knows not of what country) on whose approach she and all the women were sent into the woods, where a party of the enemy found them, and carried away all such as were able to travel. The old, and those who were averse to remove, were put to death; her grandmother among the rest. The third day she was sold to the White people. She has many marks about the chest, which she appeals to as a proof of free birth, and asserts that her father had a plantation of corn, yams, and tobacco, and possessed many slaves.

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humane and enlightened people, concerning the injustice of a traffic thus supported. To attempt its defence in all cases, were to offer an insult to the common sense of mankind, and an outrage on the best feelings of our nature. Yet a good mind may honestly derive some degree of consolation, in considering that all such of the wretched victims as were slaves in Africa, are, by being sold to the Whites, removed to a situation infinitely more desirable, even in its worst state, than that of the best and most favoured slaves in their native country. It is, on all hands, admitted that the condition of those poor people, under their own governments, is the most deplorable that we can conceive a human creature to be subject to. They have no security for property, nor protection for their persons; they exist at the will and caprice of a master, who is not amenable to any law for his ill treatment of them, and who may slaughter them at his pleasure. He has in truth but very little interest in their preservation, having no means of employing them in profitable labour, and when provisions are scarce, he has even a strong inducement to destroy them.

The chief objection to the slave trade arises from the great encouragement which, I fear, it unavoidably holds forth to acts of violence, oppression, and fraud, among the natives towards each other. Without doubt, this is the strong

part of the petitioners' case; and I admit it to be so, with that frankness which I trust no honest West Indian will condemn. At the same time it deserves very serious consideration, whether a direct and immediate discontinuance of the trade by the British nation only (the other nations of Europe continuing to purchase as usual) would afford a remedy to those miseries, the existence of which every enlightened mind cannot but admit, and every good mind must deplore; or rather, whether a partial and sudden abolition (so inveterate is the evil) would not aggravate them in a high degree.

In considering this question, we must have in view not only the circumstances attending the Slave Trade on the Coast, but also the situation of the enslaved Negroes already in the Sugar Colonies. On the first head, it is to be inquired whether, supposing Great Britain should abandon her share in this commerce, a less number of slaves would in consequence thereof be brought down for sale in Africa? Admiral Edwards, who served on the station, and was on shore seven months at a time, is decidedly of opinion that, so long as other nations continue to purchase, the number would not be diminished in the least;* and a little

* See his evidence in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, 1789.

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reflection may perhaps convince us that his opinion is founded in reason, and the nature of the case. Among the commercial nations of Europe, it is true that, in most cases of purchase and barter, the demand and the supply grow up together, and continue to regulate and support each other: but these are the arrangements of well-informed and civilized men. In Africa, it is apprehended the slave merchants possess no ideas of this kind, neither does the nature of their traffic allow of such regulations. When two African states are at war with each other, the aim of each undoubtedly is to destroy as many enemies, or seize on as great a number of captives, as possible. Of these last unfortunate victims, all such as are able to travel, are commonly sent down to the coast for sale: the rest are massacred on the spot, and the same fate attends those unhappy wretches who, being sent down, are found unsaleable. The prices indeed on the coast have been known to vary as the market is more or less plentifully supplied; but, so long as ships from Europe create a market, whether the prices be high or low, it can hardly be doubted, that wars will be as frequent as ever, and that the same acts of oppression, violence, and fraud, which are said to be committed by princes on their subjects, and by individuals on each other, for the purpose of procuring slaves for

sale, will exist, as usual, without regulation or restraint.

Behold then an excess of 38,000 of these miserable people (the present annual export in British shipping) thrown upon the market, and it is surely more than probable that one or the other of these consequences will follow: Either the French, the Dutch, and the other maritime nations of Europe, by seizing on what we surrender, will increase their trade in proportion to the increased supply,* or, having the choice and refusal of 38,000 more than they have at present, will become more difficult to please; confining their purchases to such only as are called *prime* slaves. Thus the old, and the very young, the sickly and the feeble, will be scornfully rejected; and perhaps *twenty* poor wretches be considered as unsaleable then, and sacrificed accordingly, to *one* that is so considered and sacrificed now.

That the latter supposition is not a mere speculative contingency, is abundantly proved by many respectable witnesses, whose examinations were taken by the committee of the privy

(*) Admiral Edwards being asked, Whether, if Great Britain were to relinquish the trade in slaves, the number sold to Europeans would, in his opinion, be much diminished? replied, Most certainly it would not be diminished. The French and Dutch would immediately get possession of this trade.

council:—Being asked concerning the disposal of such slaves as are rejected by the European traders, either because their cargoes are already assorted, or because the miserable victims are considered as too old or too feeble for labour, it was given in evidence, as a fact too notorious to be controverted, that they are very frequently, if not generally, put to death. The slave merchant, not having the means of maintaining his captives for any length of time, makes no scruple to avow that it is his intention to destroy them, provided they are not sold by a certain day; and the *work of death*, on such occasions, is sometimes performed in sight of our shipping. Shocking as this account may seem, it is verified by undisputed testimony; and to suppose that a discontinuance of the trade by one nation only will put an end to this enormity, is to suppose that the African slave-holder will become more merciful as his slaves are rendered of less value; a conclusion which I am afraid experience will not warrant.*

* Mr. Newton (an evidence in support of the application to parliament for an abolition of the trade) admits that some of the slaves, that have been rejected by the Europeans have been knocked on the head with the paddles of the boat that brought them, and thrown overboard. On the Gold Coast, Mr. Miles supposed they are mostly reserved for the purpose of being sacrificed at the burial of great men. One instance of this came within his own knowledge.—Mr. Weuves knew an instance of a woman being destroyed, who

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The effect which a partial abolition would probably have in our sugar islands is now to be considered; and here it must, in the first place, be observed, that it seems not to be known, or is not adverted to, in England, that the sugar estates are not only very much understocked in general, but that there is scarce one of them, for reasons that will presently be seen, that possesses a sufficient number of Negro women in proportion to the men. Of course there being fewer pairs, there are fewer children born. Thus situated, there must necessarily happen a decrease on the whole number of the slaves, even under the mildest treatment, and enjoying the greatest plenty of wholesome provisions.—Secondly, it must be remembered, that most of the sugar estates having been settled on credit, are

was accused of witchcraft, and could not be sold. In order to save her life, he offered to give an anker of brandy for her; but her head was cut off before his messenger arrived. Other instances, similiar to this, are related by Mr. Matthews and Mr. Gandy. Sir George Young saved the life of a beautiful boy, about five years old, at Sierra Leone. The child being too young to be an object of trade, would have been throw into the river by the person that had him to sell, but Sir George, to save his life, offered a quarter cask of Madeira wine for him, which was accepted—he brought him to England, and made a present of him to the Marquis of Lansdown.—Admiral Edwards, Mr. Penney, Mr. Dalzel, Mr. Anderson, and others, concur in the same account of the disposal of such as are rejected by the Europeans.

Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, 1789, Part 1st.

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burthened with heavy incumbrances to persons in Great Britain. Many planters are under covenants to consign thither annually, certain specific quantities of sugar and rum. The effect therefore of a direct and unqualified abolition would be this: that while the few persons who have money at command, would be waiting, and perhaps contriving, opportunities to stock their plantations with the slaves of their distressed and harassed neighbours, the great majority of planters would find themselves in a most cruel and uncomfortable situation; their estates already weak-handed, deprived of the possibility of selling their lands, and no means in their power of augmenting their stock of labourers by purchase; their creditors, at the same time, clamorous and importunate for produce, which can only be obtained by great exertions of labour: in such circumstances what are they to do? I cannot better illustrate this part of my subject, than by the case of the Dutch planters of Essequebo and Demerary: by an impolitic interdiction of foreign slave-ships into those provinces, they have for some time past, felt all the effects of a virtual abolition; and here follows the account which they give of their situation, transcribed from a late memorial to the States General:—"It is impossible (say the petitioners) to inform your High Mightinesses of the real annual diminution of our slaves, but it is generally calculated

at five in the hundred, or a twentieth part. This is little felt the first year: nineteeen remaining Negroes hardly perceive that they do the work which the preceding year employed twenty. But the second year the same work falls to the share of eighteen, and, if another year passes without an augmentation by purchase, seventeen must do the work first allotted to twenty. This must give rise to discontent, desertion, and revolt; or, if the Negroes put up patiently with this surcharge of labour, illness and an earlier death must be the consequence. Or, lastly, if the planters seek to avoid all these inconveniences, they must gradually contract the limits of their plantations, and of course diminish their produce."—Thus immediate interest in all cases, and urgent distress in many, are opposed to the principles of justice and the dictates of humanity! *

What I have thus deliberately written, is not,

(*) The present annual decrease of the Negroes in the British West Indies is estimated at two and a half *per cent.* on the whole number; but if the same quantity of labour which they now perform, shall continue to be exacted from them as their numbers diminish, it cannot be doubted that the loss will be greater every year, and augment, with accelerated rapidity. The sugar estates will, undoubtedly, suffer most, and it is no difficult matter to calculate in what time they will be entirely dismantled. In Jamaica, the number employed in that line of culture in 1789 was 128,728, all of whom, without fresh supplies from Africa, would probably be extinct in less than thirty years.

if I know my own heart, the language of selfishness or party. I confess that, reflecting on the means by which slaves are very frequently obtained in Africa, and the destruction that formerly attended the mode of transporting them to the West Indies, I was at one time of opinion it became this great and renowned nation, instead of regulating her conduct by that of other states, to set a laudable example to *them*, by an immediate and unqualified suppression of this reprobated commerce; and I should still maintain and avow the same sentiments, were I not, on fuller inquiry and better information, led to suspect *that the means proposed are not adequate to the end.* I fear that a direct and sudden abolition, by one nation alone, will *not* serve the purposes of humanity in Africa; and I am fully convinced that such a measure will tend to aggravate, in a very high degree, the miseries of a great majority of the Negroes already in the West Indies; whose decreasing population is at present unavoidable; and who, therefore, unless recruited by supplies from Africa, must find their labours augment, as their numbers diminish.

A question too arises in this place, the discussion of which might probably render all further debate on the subject of abolition superfluous. It extends to nothing less than the *practicability* of the measure. Whether it be possible for any nation in Europe, singly considered, to

prevent its subjects from procuring slaves in Africa, so long as Africa shall continue to sell, is a point on which I have many doubts; but *none* concerning the possibility of conveying the slaves so purchased into every island of the West Indies, in spite of the maritime force of all Europe. No man who is acquainted with the extent of uninhabited coast in the larger of those islands;—the facility of landing in every part of them;—the prevailing winds, and the numerous creeks and harbours in all the neighbouring dominions of foreign powers (so conveniently situated for contraband traffic), can hesitate a moment to pronounce, that an attempt to prevent the introduction of slaves into our West Indian colonies, would be like that of chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean.*

* It was said (with what truth I know not) that besides confiscation of ship and cargo, it was meant to consider the clandestine importation of slaves into our colonies as a felonious act, and to punish it capitally. The Spaniards treat many species of smuggling in this manner, and in no part of the world is the contraband traffic so prevalent as in the Spanish dominions. It is a curious question, in what manner a cargo of slaves, seized as contraband, would be disposed of? To declare a set of poor helpless savages *free*, and turn them loose in a strange country, without food or clothing, would hardly be thought of; and to send them back to Africa, besides the expense and length of the voyage, would be to consign them over to certain destruction. This difficulty seems to have been altogether overlooked, during the discussion of the slave business in parliament.

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The next object to which it was proposed to direct our enquiries, is the mode of conveying slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and their mortality in the voyage: constituting the second ground on which most of the petitioners to parliament for an abolition of the trade, have rested their application. But before I proceed to consider this part of my subject, it may not be improper to offer a few observations concerning the great disproportion of sexes in the purchases that are made on the coast.; it being a well-known fact, that of the vast numbers of slaves annually exported from Africa, about one-third only are females. This circumstance has been tortured into a charge of criminal neglect and improvident avarice against the planters in the West Indies, who are supposed from thence to have no wish of making their slaves even as happy as their situation will admit, or of keeping up their numbers by natural increase. How far these charges are founded, let the following testimony of a very competent witness determine:—"The disproportion in the number of male and female slaves exported from Africa (says Mr. Barnes*) appears to me to be imputable to the three following causes: First, to the practice of polygamy which prevails throughout Africa. Secondly,

* Report of the Committee of Council 1789.

to some of the very causes of slavery itself; men are more apt to commit civil offences than women, and in all such cases, where males and females are involved in the same calamity, the first cause still has its operation: the young females are kept for wives, and the males are sold for slaves. Thirdly, to the circumstance that females become unfit for the slave-market at a much earlier period than the males. A woman, through child-bearing, may appear a very exceptionable slave at twenty-two, or twenty-three years of age, whereas a healthy well-made man will not be objected to at four or five-and-thirty; consequently, if an equal number of males and females of like ages were offered for sale, a much greater proportion of the females would be rejected on that account only. With regard to the question, Whether the European traders prefer purchasing males rather than females? I have to observe, that though it is impossible to conduct the business, either of a house or of a plantation, without a number of females, yet as the nature of the slave-service in the West Indies (being chiefly field labour) requires, for the immediate interest of the planter, a great number of males, the European trader would of course wish to purchase his assortment according to the proportion wanted; but the fact is, *he has not an option in the case*, for the reasons already mentioned;

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so that in most parts of Africa it is with great difficulty he can get as many saleable females as will form any tolerable assortment." The application of these remarks will hereafter be seen. —I now return to the manner of transporting the slaves thus purchased, from Africa to the West Indies.

It is difficult, I think, to assign any probable reason or motive why the treatment of these poor people at sea should be otherwise than as humane and indulgent as the safety of the crew will admit. Many shocking instances were however adduced, in the evidence delivered to the committe of privy council, of most outrageous and wanton barbarity and cruelty exercised towards them in different ships; but, as the witnesses that were brought forward to establish those charges were not the most respectable in point of character, and in some cases were proved to have suits at law with the captains against whom they gave evidence, I shall collect my account from less disputable authority.

It is admitted on all hands that the men-slaves are secured in irons when they first come on board; but Sir George Young, a captain in the royal navy, who appears to be well acquainted with the trade in all its branches, is of opinion, that this is not practised more than necessity requires. The mode is, by fastening

every two men together, the right ancle of one being locked, by means of a small iron fetter, to the left of the other; and if marks of a turbulent disposition appear, an additional fetter is put on their wrists. On the passage, when danger is no longer apprehended, these irons are commonly taken off; and women and young people are exempt from them from the beginning.* They are lodged between decks, on clean boards, the men and women being separated from each other by bulk-heads; and fresh air is admitted by means of wind-sails or ventilators. Covering of any kind, as well from the warmth of the climate as from the constant practice of going naked, would be insupportable to them. Every morning, if the weather permits, they are brought upon deck, and allowed to continue there until the evening. Their apartments, in the mean time, are washed, scraped, fumigated, and sprinkled with vinegar. The first attention paid to them in the morning is to supply them with water to wash their hands and faces, after which they are provided with their morning meal: this, according to the country from whence they come, consists either of Indian corn, or of rice or yams. Before noon they are constantly and regularly made to bathe in salt-water, and

* The bulk of the cargo is generally young people from sixteen years of age to thirty—.The lowest size four feet.

nothing can be more agreeable and refreshing. The dinner is varied, consisting sometimes of food to which they have been accustomed in Africa, as yams and Indian corn, &c. and at other times of provisions brought from Europe, as dried beans and peas, wheat, shelled barley, and biscuit; all these are boiled soft in steam, and mixed up with a sauce made of meat, with fish, or palm-oil; this last is a constant and desirable article in their cookery. At each meal they are allowed as much as they can eat, and have likewise a sufficiency of fresh water; unless when, from an uncommon long voyage, the preservation of the ship compels the captain to put them to a short allowance. Drams also are given them when the weather is cold or wet; and pipes and tobacco whenever they desire them. In the intervals between their meals, they are encouraged to divert themselves with music and dancing; for which purpose such rude and uncouth instruments as are used in Africa, are collected before their departure; and they are also permitted to amuse themselves with games of chance, for which they are likewise furnished with implements of African invention. In sickness, the invalids are immediately removed to the captain's cabin, or to a hospital built near the forecastle; and treated with all the care, both in regard to medicine and food, that circumstances will admit; and

when, fortunately for the negroes, the ship touches at any place in her voyage, as frequently happens, every refreshment that the country affords, as cocoa-nuts, oranges, limes, and other fruits, with vegetables of all sorts, are distributed among them; and refreshments of the same kind are freely allowed them at the place of their destination, between the days of arrival and sale.

From this account, which is confirmed by the testimony of a great number of respectable men, many of whom were wholly disinterested in the question, and could therefore have no motive to violate or suppress the truth, it may be supposed that every scheme which can easily be devised to preserve the negroes in health, cleanliness, and cheerfulness, is adopted in the voyage. So dreadful, notwithstanding, has been the mortality in several ships, wherein these precautions were used, as to evince, beyond all contradiction, that there was something in those instances intrinsically wrong; and it cannot be doubted that the mischief has been ascribed to its proper cause, namely, the criminal rapaciousness of many of the ship-masters in purchasing more negroes than their accom modations were calculated to convey. It ap peared in evidence before the House of Commons, that a ship of 240 tons would frequently be crowded with no less than 520 slaves; which was not allowing ten inches of room to each

individual. The consequence of this inexcusable avarice, was oftentimes a loss of 15 *per cent.* in the voyage, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* more in the harbours of the West Indies, previous to the sale, from diseases contracted at sea;—a destruction of the human species on which it is impossible to reflect without indignation and horror!

To the several arguments, however, which have been raised on the ground of these abuses, in support of the scheme of abolition, a very short answer may be given:—Admit all the miseries and destructive wretchedness which have been placed to this account to have existed in full force, and it will still remain to be inquired whether measures of less powerful operation than a total suppression of the trade, will not obviate in future the evils complained of; because, if regulations alone are sufficient for that purpose, abolition cannot be necessary. Regulations have accordingly been framed and inforced under the authority of the British parliament, of which the certain effect ought surely to be known, before the evils they are meant to redress are pronounced irremediable. By an act of the 28th year of his present Majesty (since renewed and amended) the slave ships are restricted to the conveyance of five slaves to every three tons; and even this proportion is allowed only as far as 201 tons. For every

additional ton they are limited to one additional slave.* To these important precautions for securing to the Negroes a sufficiency of room, is added the necessary provision of a regularly-qualified surgeon; to whom, as well as to the ship-master, very liberal encouragement is given, to induce both of them to exert every provident endeavour in preserving their unfortunate captives in health and spirits; the sum of one hundred pounds being allowed to the master, and 50*l.* to the surgeon, if the loss on the voyage amounts to no more than two in the hundred, and half those sums if the loss shall not exceed three in the hundred.

Of the full effect which this system of restriction and encouragement hath hitherto produced in all the British colonies, I am not informed; but judging by returns which I have obtained from one of the principal marts in the West Indies, it would seem to have been found, in a very eminent degree, advantageous and salutary. At the port of Montego-Bay, in Jamaica, the Negroes imported between the 18th day of November 1789 and the 15th

* It is also provided, that vessels not exceeding 201 tons shall not carry of *male* slaves (exceeding four feet four inches in height) more than one for each ton, and vessels of larger size more than three such *males* for every five tons. This regulation ssems intended as an encouragement to the export of a greater proportion of females.

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of July 1791, were 9,993, in 38 ships; the mortality at sea, exclusive of the loss of 54 negroes in a mutiny on the coast, was 746, which is somewhat under seven *per cent.* on the whole number of slaves. This, though much less, I believe, than the average loss which commonly happened before the regulating law took place, is, I admit, sufficiently great; and, had it prevailed in any degree *equally* on the several ships concerned, might perhaps have been considered as a fair estimate of the general mortality consequent on the trade, notwithstanding the precautions and provisions of the regulating act. But on examining the list, I find that eight of the 38 ships, were entitled to, and actually received, the full premium; two others received the half premium; and one other (a schooner that sailed from Jamaica to the coast before the act took place) returned without the loss of a single negro. Of the 746 deaths, no less than 328 occurred in four ships only, all of which, with five other vessels, comprehending the whole number of ships in which three-fifths of the mortality occurred, came from the same part of the coast, the Bight of Benin; a circumstance that gives room to conclude (as undoubtedly was the fact) that the negroes from that part of the country brought disease and contagion with them from the land; an epidemic fever and flux generally prevailing on

the low marshy shores of the Bonny rivers, during the autumnal months, which sometimes proves even more destructive on shore than at sea.

Perhaps the truest criterion by which to estimate the beneficial effect of the regulating law, is the comparatively trifling loss that now occurs in the harbours of the West Indies before the Guiney ships open their sales. This mortality, which was formerly estimated at $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* and was manifestly the consequence of sickness or improper treatment in the voyage, is now happily mitigated in so great a degree, that out of the whole number of 9,993 slaves imported into Montego-Bay as before stated, the loss between the days of arrival and sale was no more than 69, or not quite $\frac{3}{4}$ *per cent.* Enough therefore had been effected to demonstrate, that it is by no means impossible, nor indeed a very difficult matter, to render the conveyance of Negroes from Africa to the West Indies as little prejudicial to their healths, as the transportation of any other body of people across the ocean in any part of the world. Few voyages were more destructive to the seamen than that of Lord Anson, and none less so than those of Captain Cook; an incontestable proof that the mortality, which has commonly occurred at sea, has at all times arisen from ill-constructed

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ships, and neglect, or improper management on board.*

Concerning the West India Planters, as they are entirely innocent and ignorant of the manner in which the Slave Trade is conducted (having no other concern therein than becoming purchasers of what British acts of parliament have made objects of sale,) so it is equally consonant to their interest and their wishes, that effectual means should be pursued for preserving the health of the negroes, by securing to them proper and reasonable accommodation on the passage. The assembly of Jamaica, instead of remonstrating against that augmentation in the price of slaves, which they must have foreseen that the act of the British parliament would necessarily create, with the liberality of dignified minds applauded the principle of the measure, declaring it to be founded in necessity, justice, and humanity, and expressed their opinion that the wisdom and authority of Parliament might be beneficially exerted in further regulations of the African commerce, particu-

* Perhaps no plan is so likely to save the lives and preserve the healths of the negroes at sea, as that of limiting the slave-ships to 200 tons burthen, and allowing them to receive on board only 2 or 2½ to a ton. Small vessels are soon loaded; and from a multitude of examples that I have seen, it appears to me that the greatest mortality happens in the larger ships.

larly in preventing the detention of ships on the coast; in prohibiting the purchase of slaves who should appear to have been kidnapped; in compelling the slave-ships to transport an equal number of both sexes, and to provide ventilators and a sufficient quantity of provision, especially water; such a recommendation it might be supposed would engage immediate attention, not only as coming from men who are certainly the best judges of its propriety and necessity, but also because the means of enforcing most of the regulations which they recommend are practicable and apparent.

Having thus, I presume, sufficiently treated of the means by which slaves are procured for sale in Africa, and the regulations that have been established by the British parliament for their better conveyance to the Sugar Islands, I shall proceed, in the next chapter, to a detail of their general treatment and situation there, immediately on and after their arrival, and distribution among the planters.

CHAPTER V.

Arrival and sale in the West Indies.—Negroes newly purchased, how disposed of and employed.—Detail of the management of Negroes on a sugar plantation.—Mode of maintaining them.—Houses, clothing, and medical care.—Abuses.—Late regulations for their protection and security.—Causes of their annual decrease.—Polygamy, &c.—Slavery in its mildest form unfriendly to population.—General observations.—Proposals for the further meliorating the condition of the Slaves, with which the subject concludes.

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THE arrival of a Guinea Ship in the West Indies is announced by public advertisement, specifying the number of Negroes imported, the country from whence, and day of sale. It was the practice until of late, to open the sale on shipboard, the males being arranged in one part of the ship, and the females in another: but, as visitors of all descriptions were admitted without hesitation or inquiry, it frequently happened, when slave-ships were scarce, that such crowds of people went on board, and began so disgraceful a scramble, as to terrify the poor ignorant Africans with a notion that they were seized on by a herd of cannibals, and

speedily to be devoured. The wisdom of the legislature of Jamaica has corrected this enormity in that island, by enacting that the sales shall be conducted on shore, and that care shall be taken not to separate different branches of the same family. I am afraid it hath been found difficult, in all cases, to enforce this latter regulation; but it is usual with most planters, I believe, to inquire of the Negroes themselves, by means of an interpreter, whether they have relations on board, and to purchase families together; or, by exchanging with other buyers, to prevent, if possible, that cruel separation between parents and children, and brothers and sisters, which must sometimes, I doubt, unavoidably take place. I never knew an instance where such purchase or accommodation was knowingly declined or refused.*

Although there is something extremely shocking to a humane and cultivated mind, in the idea of beholding a numerous body of our unfortunate fellow-creatures in captivity and exile, exposed naked to public view, and sold like a herd of cattle, yet I could never perceive (except in the cases that have been mentioned

* Soon after this was written, the author of this work had the honour of proposing to the assembly of Jamaica, of which he was a member, an act which was unanimously adopted, and is now an existing law, by which the Guiney factors are compelled, under the solemnity of an oath, to do their utmost to enforce the regulations alluded to.

of a scramble on shipboard) that the Negroes themselves were oppressed with many of those painful sensations which a person unaccustomed to the scene would naturally attribute to such apparent wretchedness. The circumstance of being exposed naked, is perhaps of little account to those who were never sensible of the necessity or propriety of being clothed. The climate requires not the aid of dress, nor are the Negroes, though naked, destitute of decorations, on which, at their first arrival, they seem to set a much higher estimation than on raiment; most of the nations of Africa having their skin, particularly on the forehead, the breast, and round the waist, punctured or impressed with figures and representations of different kinds (squares, circles, triangles, and crescents) similar to the practice which prevails in *Otaheite*, and the other islands of the South Sea, called, *tatowing*, as described in the voyages of Captain Cook. Like those islanders too, some of the newly-imported Negroes display these marks with a mixture of ostentation and pleasure, either considering them as highly ornamental, or appealing to them as testimonies of distinction in Africa; where, in some cases, they are said to indicate free birth and honourable parentage.* The Negroes are apprised also,

* Some of the Negroes of the Gold Coast, or the adjacent countries (the *Chamba* Negroes for instance) appear to

before their arrival, that they are to be employed in tillage; and, knowing that they were bought with money, expect to be sold in the same manner. They display therefore, on being brought to market, very few signs of lamentation for their past, or of apprehension for their future condition; but, wearied out with confinement at sea, commonly express great eagerness to be sold; presenting themselves, when the buyers are few, with cheerfulness and alacrity for selection, and appearing mortified and disappointed when refused. If it happens, as it frequently does, when the purchasers have leisure and opportunity to inspect them individually, that some bodily defect or blemish is discovered in any of them, the majority seem highly diverted at the circumstance; manifest-

me to use the same, or nearly the same, marks as the savages of New Zealand; viz. deep incisions on each cheek drawn circularly from the ear to the mouth. (*Vide Hawkesworth's Voyages*, vol. iii. c. 9.) It is ridiculous enough, that some of the writers against the slave-trade should ascribe these marks of superstition or false taste to the cruelty of the planters, and gravely assert that they are the scars of horrible gashes inflicted by the bloody hand of tyranny in the wantonness of punishment. The Reverend Mr. Clarkson catches very eagerly at this idea, and asserts with great solemnity, that "it is a matter of constant lamentation with "disinterested people, who, out of curiosity, attend the Ne-"gro markets in Jamaica, that they are not able to turn their "eyes on any group of Negroes without beholding these "inhuman marks of passion, despotism, and caprice!"

ing by loud and repeated bursts of laughter, that reflection constitutes no very predominant part of their character.*

The buyer having completed his assortment, and clothed his newly-acquired subjects with a coarse German linen, called osnaburghs, and provided them also with hats, handkerchiefs, and knives, sends them to the place of their intended residence:† and now a practice prevails in Jamaica, which I myself, unacquainted as I then was with the actual management in detail of a sugar plantation, and residing in a distant country, used to reprobate and exclaim against; but to which I now submit, from a full conviction, founded on experience, of its usefulness and necessity. The practice is that of distributing the newly-imported Africans among the old Negroes, as pensioners (with some little assistance occasionally given) on their little *peculium*, and provision-grounds. This I

* The prices of new Negroes in the West Indies, at this time (1791) are nearly as follows:—An able man in his prime, 50*l.* sterling; an able woman, 49*l.* sterling; a youth approaching to manhood, 47*l.* sterling; a young girl, 46*l.* sterling; boys and girls from 40*l.* to 45*l.* sterling, exclusive of the Colonial tax or duty on importation, about twenty shillings more.

† It is the custom among some of the planters in Jamaica, to mark the initials of their name on the shoulder or breast of each newly-purchased Negro, by means of a small silver brand heated in the flame of spirits, as described in a former chapter: but it is growing into disuse, and I believe in the Windward Islands thought altogether unnecessary.

used to consider as an insupportable hardship on the poor people already settled and domesticated, and I positively and expressly forbade a continuance of the custom in plantations over which I had authority.

On my return to the West Indies, I was surprised to find the old-established Negroes, when young people newly arrived from Africa were sent among them, request, as a particular instance of favour and indulgence to themselves, the revival and continuance of the ancient system! assuring me they had the means of supporting the strangers without difficulty. Many who thus applied, proposed each of them to adopt one of their young country-folks in the room of children they had lost by death, or had been deprived of in Africa; others, because they wished, like the patriarchs of old, to see their sons take to themselves wives from their own nation and kindred; and all of them, I presume, because, among other considerations, they expected to revive and retrace in the conversation of their new visitors, the remembrance and ideas of past pleasures and scenes of their youth. The strangers too were best pleased with this arrangement, and ever afterwards considered themselves as the adopted children of those by whom they were thus protected, calling them parents, and venerating them as such; and I never knew an instance of the violation of

a trust thus solicited and bestowed. In the course of eight or ten months, provided they are mildly used and kept free of disease, new people, under these circumstances, become reconciled to the country; begin to get well established in their families, their houses and provision-grounds; and prove in all respects as valuable as the native or Creole negroes.*

What has hitherto been observed concerning the disposal of Africans newly imported, is, I believe, applicable to West Indian estates of all descriptions; but, as my own personal attention has been chiefly directed to sugar plantations, I would be understood to speak of those more particularly; and shall now proceed to describe the methodical arrangement and distribution of labour with which they are conducted, as it is unquestionably more severe and constant than that on any other species of landed property in the West Indies.

The Negroes are divided into three sets or classes, usually called *gangs;* the first consisting of the most healthy and robust of the men and women, whose chief business it is, out of

* Generally speaking, a Creole Negro is considered as worth more than one imported; but in a valuation, by indifferent persons, of two able well-disposed Negroes, nearly of the same age, the one an African, the other a native, no great difference (if any) would be made. A child just born is valued at 5*l.*

crop-time, to clear, hole and plant the ground; and, in crop-time, to cut the canes, feed the mills, and attend the manufacture of the sugar. It is computed that, in the whole body of the negroes on a well-conditioned plantation, there are commonly found one-third of this description, exclusive of domestics and negro tradesmen, viz. carpenters, coopers, and masons, with which each well-regulated plantation is provided.* The second gang is composed of young boys and girls, women far gone with child, and convalescents, who are chiefly em-

* The annual profit arising to the owner, from the labour of each able field Negro employed in the cultivation of sugar, may be reckoned at twenty-five pounds sterling money. I reckon thus:—A sugar plantation, well conducted, and in a favourable soil, ought to yield as many hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. annually, as there are Negroes belonging to it, the average value of which, for ten years past, may be stated at 15*l.* sterling the hogshead; but as every plantation is not thus productive, and the rum, which is generally appropriated to the payment of contingent charges, not being always sufficient for that purpose, I will allow 10*l.* sterling only, as the clear profit *per* hogshead of the sugar, which therefore is the average value of the labour of each Negro, old and young; and one-third only of the Negroes being able people, their labour may be put at 30*l.* a head; out of which however must be deducted, the interest on their first cost, and an allowance for the risk of losing them by death or desertion (their maintenance, &c. being included in the contingent expences of the estate) for both which I allow fifteen *per cent.* This leaves about 25*l* sterling clear, or nearly a fourth part of the actual value of each slave.

ployed in weeding the canes, and other light work adapted to their strength and condition; and the third set consists of young children, attended by a careful old woman, who are employed in collecting green-meat for the pigs and sheep; or in weeding the garden, or some such gentle exercise, merely to preserve them from habits of idleness.

The first gang is summoned to the labours of the field either by a bell or the blowing of a conch-shell, just before sun-rise. They bring with them, besides their hoes or bills, provisions for breakfast; and are attended by a White person, and a Black superintendant called a driver.—The list being called over, and the names of all the absentees noted, they proceed with their work until eight or nine o'clock, when they sit down in the shade to breakfast, which is prepared in the mean time by a certain number of women, whose sole employment it is to act as cooks for the rest. This meal commonly consists of boiled yams, eddoes, ocra, calalue and plantains, or as many of those vegetables as they can procure; seasoned with salt, and cayenne pepper; and, in truth, it is an exceeding palatable and wholesome mess. By this time most of the absentees make their appearance, and are sometimes punished for their sluggishness by a few stripes of the driver's whip. But I am happy to say that of late years a very slight excuse is generally admitted.

The fact is, that when the mornings are chill and foggy, as frequently happens even under the zone, the sensations of the Negro are distressful beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of frozen regions. Instead of deriving firmness and activity from the cold, he becomes inert, sluggish, and languid; and neither labour nor punishment will animate him to great exertion, until he is revivified by the genial warmth of the sun. At breakfast they are seldom indulged with more than half or three quarters of an hour; and, having resumed their work, continue in the field until noon, when the bell calls them from labour. They are now allowed two hours of rest and refreshment; one of which is commonly spent in sleep. Their dinner is provided with the addition of salted or pickled fish, of which each Negro receives a weekly allowance. Many of them, however, preferring a plentiful supper to a meal at noon, pass the hours of recess, either in sleep, or in collecting food for their pigs and poultry, of which they are permitted to keep as many as they please; or perhaps a few of the more industrious will employ an hour in their provision-grounds. At two o'clock they are again summoned to the field, where having been refreshed both by rest and food, they now manifest some signs of vigorous and animated application; although I can with great truth assert, that one English

labourer in his own climate would perform at least three times the work of any one Negro in the same period. At sun-set, or very soon after, they are released for the night, (the drudgery, so much complained of in some of the islands to windward, of picking grass, being happily unknown in Jamaica,) and if the day has been wet, or their labour harder than usual, they are sometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. On the whole, as the length of the days in the latitude of the West Indies differs very little throughout the year, I conceive they are employed daily about ten hours, in the service of their master, Sundays and holidays excepted. In the crop season, however, the system is different; for at that time, such of the Negroes as are employed in the mill and boiling-houses often work very late, frequently all night; but they are divided into watches, which relieve each other, according to the practice among seamen; and it is remarkable, that at this season the Negroes enjoy higher health and vigour than at any other period of the year; a circumstance undoubtedly owing to the free and unrestrained use which they are allowed to make of the ripe canes, the cane-liquor, and syrup.

The practice which prevails in Jamaica of giving the Negroes lands to cultivate, from the produce of which they are expected to maintain

themselves (except in times of scarcity, arising from hurricanes and droughts, when assistance is never denied them) is universally allowed to be judicious and beneficial; producing a happy coalition of interests between the master and the slave. The negro who has acquired by his own labour a property in his master's land, has much to lose, and is therefore less inclined to desert his work. He earns a little money, by which he is enabled to indulge himself in fine clothes on holidays, and gratify his palate with salted meats and other provisions that otherwise he could not obtain; and the proprietor is eased, in a great measure, of the expence of feeding him. In some of the Windward Islands they have not land enough for the purpose; nor in any one of them are the Negroes so happily accommodated, in this respect, as in the large island of Jamaica; where they are seldom either stinted in quantity of land, or confined as to situation. In fact, if the owner's territory is sufficiently extensive, the Negroes make it a practice to enlarge their own grounds, or exchange them for fresh land, every year. By these means, having quicker and better returns, they raise provisions in abundance, not only for their own use, but also a great surplus to sell. The misfortune is, they trust more to plantain-groves, corn, and other vegetables, that are liable to be destroyed by storms, than to what are

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called *ground-provisions*; such as yams, eddoes, potatoes, cassada, and other esculent roots; all which are out of the reach of hurricanes; but prudence is a term that has no place in the negro vocabulary. To obviate the mischiefs which fatal experience has proved to flow from this gross inattention, the *Slave Act* of Jamaica obliges, under a penalty, every proprietor of lands to keep, properly cultivated in ground-provisions, one acre for every ten Negroes, exclusive of the negro-grounds.*

* In Jamaica the Negroes are allowed one day in a fortnight, except in time of crop, besides Sundays and holidays, for cultivating their grounds and carrying their provisions to market. Some of them find time on these days, besides raising provisions, to make a few coarse manufactures, such as mats for beds, bark ropes of a strong and durable texture, wicker chairs and baskets, earthen jars, pans, &c. for all which they find a ready sale; but I cannot say much for the skill and elegance of their workmanship. The most industrious of the Negroes do not, I believe, employ more than sixteen hours in a month in the cultivation of their own provision-gardens (leaving all further care of them to the beneficence of nature), and in favourable seasons this is sufficent. Sunday is their day of market, and it is wonderful what numbers are then seen, hastening from all parts of the country, towards the towns and shipping-places, laden with fruits and vegetables, pigs, goats and poultry, their own property. In Jamaica it is supposed that upwards of 10,000 assemble every Sunday morning in the market of Kingston, where they barter their provisions, &c. for salted beef and pork, or fine linen and ornaments for their wives and children. I do not believe that an instance can be produced of

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The cottages of the Negroes usually compose a small village, the situation of which, for the sake of convenience and water, is commonly near the buildings in which the manufacture of sugar is conducted. They are seldom placed with much regard to order; but, being always intermingled with fruit-trees, particularly the banana, the avocado-pear, and the orange (the Negroes' own planting and property) they sometimes exhibit a pleasing and picturesque appearance. To affirm that they are very tolerable habitations, according to the idea which an untravelled Englishman would probably form of the word, were an insult to the reader; but it may honestly be said, that, allowing for the difference of climate, they far excel the cabins of the Scotch and Irish peasants, as described by Mr. Young, and other travellers. They are such, at least, as are commensurate to the desires and necessities of their inhabitants, who build them according to their own fancy both in size and shape, the master allowing the

a master's interfering with his Negroes in their *peculium* thus acquired. They are permitted also to dispose at their deaths of what little property they possess; and even to bequeath their grounds or gardens to such of their fellow-slaves as they think proper. These principles are so well established, that whenever it is found convenient for the owner to exchange the negro-grounds for other lands, the Negroes must be satisfied, in money or otherwise, before the exchange takes place. It is universally the practice.

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timber, and frequently permitting the estate's carpenters to assist in the building. In general, a cottage for one Negro and his wife, is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and divided into two apartments. It is composed of hard posts driven into the ground, and interlaced with wattles and plaister, the height from the ground to the plate being barely sufficient to admit the owner to walk in upright. The floor is of natural earth, which is commonly dry enough, and the roof thatched with palm-thatch, or the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; an admirable covering, forming a lasting and impenetrable shelter both against the sun and the rain. Of furniture they have no great matters to boast, nor, considering their habits of life, is much required. The bedstead is a platform of boards, and the bed a mat, covered with a blanket; a small table, two or three low stools, an earthern jar for holding water, a few smaller ones, a pail, an iron pot, *calabashes** of different sizes (serving very tolerably for plates, dishes, and bowls), make up the rest. Their cookery is conducted in the open air, and fire-wood being always at hand, they have not only a sufficiency for that purpose, but also for a fire within doors during the night, without which a negro cannot sleep

* A species of gourd.

with comfort. It is made in the middle of one of the two rooms, and the smoke makes its way through the door or the thatch. This account of their accommodation, however, is confined to the lowest among the field-negroes: tradesmen and domestics are in general vastly better lodged and provided. Many of these have larger houses with boarded floors, and are accommodated (at their own expence it is true) with very decent furniture:—a few have even good beds, linen sheets, and musquito nets, and display a shelf or two of plates and dishes of queen's or Staffordshire ware.

Of clothing, the allowance of the master is not always so liberal as might be wished, but much more so of late years than formerly.* Few of the negroes, however, on Sundays and holidays, appear deficient in this point, or shew any want of raiment, not only decent but gaudy.

The circumstances wherein the slaves in the West Indies seem mostly indebted to their owners' liberality, are, I think, those of medical attendance and accommodation when sick. Every plantation that I am acquainted with,

* I believe the Negroes on every plantation in Jamaica, without exception, receive a yearly allowance of Osnaburgh linen, woollen, baize, checks, &c. and but very few planters deny them hats, handkerchiefs, and other little articles, as knives, needles and thread, &c. &c.

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is under the daily or weekly inspection of a practitioner in physic and surgery, who very frequently resides on the spot; and the planters, being in general men of education themselves, are not easily reconciled, in so important a matter, with such illiterate pretenders in medicine as are very often found in the country parts of England, to the disgrace of the profession. Young men of skill and science are therefore sought for and encouraged; and as but few single plantations can afford a very liberal allowance, they are permitted to extend their practice in the neighbourhood.*

* The usual recompence to the surgeon for attendance and medicines, is six shillings a head *per annum* for all the Negroes on the estate, whether sick or well. Amputations, difficult cases in midwifery, inoculation, &c. are paid for exclusively, and on a liberal scale. A property having 500 Negroes contributes about 150*l.* sterling *per annum*; and the surgeon, if he chooses, is entitled to board, washing, and lodging; and this is altogether independent of the profits of his practice with the Whites. I suppose there are few plantation doctors in Jamaica that have less than 500 Negroes under their care; several (with their assistants) have upwards of 5000.

Among the diseases which Negroes bring with them from Africa, the most loathsome are the *cacabay* and the *yaws*; and it is difficult to say which is the worst. The former is the leprosy of the Arabians, and the latter (much the most common) is supposed, by some writers, to be the leprosy mentioned in Leviticus, c. xiii. Both are very accurately described by Doctor Hiliary, in his Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes. Young Negro children often catch the yaws, and get through it without medicine or much incon-

For the better accommodation of invalids and women in child-birth, every plantation is provided with a sick-house or hospital, divided into different apartments; and over which one or more aged women preside as nurses. The proprietor commonly supplies blankets, flour, rice, sugar, and oatmeal: these things I have seldom known to be denied, and some gentlemen afford, besides fresh beef and mutton, more costly articles; such as spices, sago, and wine.

venience." At a later period it is seldom or never thoroughly eradicated; and as, like the small-pox, it is never had but *once*, the Gold Coast Negroes are said to communicate the infection to their infants by inoculation. I very much doubt if medicine of any kind is of use in this disease.—But the greatest mortality among the Negroes in the West Indies arises from two other complaints; the one affecting infants between the fifth and fourteenth days after their birth, and of which it is supposed that one-fourth of all the Negro children perish. It is a species of *tetanus*, or locked jaw; but both the cause of it in these poor children, and the remedy, remain yet to be discovered. The other complaint affects adults, or rather Negroes who are past their prime. They become dropsical, and complain of a constant uneasiness in the stomach; for which they find a temporary relief in eating some kind of earth. The French planters call this disease *mal-d'estomac*, or the stomach-evil. I have formerly heard of owners and managers who were so ignorant and savage as to attempt the cure by severe punishment; considering *dirt-eating*, not as a disease, but a crime. I hope the race is extinct. The best and only remedy is kind usage and wholesome animal food; and perhaps a steel drink may be of some service. Of one poor fellow in this complaint, I myself made a perfect cure by persisting some time in this method.

On the whole, notwithstanding some defects, let allowance be made for the climate and soil, and it may be asserted with truth and modesty, that, if the situation of the slaves in the British West Indies were, in all cases, on a level with their circumstances in regard to food, lodging, and medical assistance, they might be deemed objects of envy to half the peasantry of Europe.

At the same time let it not be forgotten, that the legislative authority in many of the sugar islands, has been, and still is, most humanely and laudably exerted in exalting the condition of the slave in all respects, and circumscribing the power of the master.—" Protection of their " slaves (says the Report of the Privy Council) " made but a very small portion of their earlier " policy. This branch has of late been taken " up, and express directions have been given " to ensure to the negroes, the enjoyment of " many advantages tending to alleviate their " condition. In three islands particularly (Ja- " maica, Grenada, and Dominica) the wish to " soften the rigours of their situation has ma- " nifested itself more decidedly. Measures " have been devised by the legislatures of those " islands for placing them in a state of society. " where they will be entitled to a protection " that in former times would have been thought " incompatible with the dependance and sub- " ordination of slavery."

To this distinguished and honourable testimony it may be added, as a circumstance of still greater importance, that the age itself is hourly improving in humanity: and that this improvement visibly extends beyond the Atlantic. Its influence is felt where the law is a dead letter. This, however, is to be understood with considerable allowance; for it is a melancholy truth, that authority over these poor people must, on several occasions, unavoidably devolve into hands that will employ it only in its abuse; and in cases too, in which, if redress be sought, the testimony of the injured party is inadmissible in a court of justice. Under those circumstances, while the law loses its authority, I am afraid that the sense of decorum alone affords but a feeble restraint against the corrupt passions and infirmities of our nature, the hardness of avarice, the pride of power, the sallies of anger, and the thirst of revenge.

That the narratives therefore of excessive whippings, and barbarous mutilations, which have lately awakened the sympathy of the public, are *all* of them "absolutely false;"—though it has been asserted by others, shall not be asserted by me. If they have happened but *seldom*, they have happened too often. The difference between me, and those who, on this ground, continue to urge the necessity of an

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immediate and total suppression of the slave-trade, is this; they assert that it is not *unfrequent*, but *common*, the occurrence of every hour, to behold the miserable Negroes fall victims to a series of cruelties of which no other age or country affords an example; and they maintain that the planters, *in general*, are guilty of these cruelties, without commiseration or remorse. I, on the other hand, aver that, although such enormities have certainly *sometimes* happened, and may happen again, yet that the *general* treatment of the Negroes in the British West Indies is mild, temperate, and indulgent; that instances of cruelty are not only rare, but always universally reprobated when discovered; and, when susceptible of legal proof, severely punished.*

* As the latter part of this assertion has been very confidently denied by some of the witnesses that have appeared before a Committee of the House of Commons, I beg leave to trouble the reader with the following cases in point:

"Spanish Town, Jamaica, February 1777. Thomas Fell was indicted for assaulting a Negro man slave, the property of Richard Welch, Esquire, and found guilty. Sentenced to pay a find to the king of twenty pounds, and to be imprisoned in the common gaol one week, and until payment of the fine."

"Kingston, Jamaica, At the Surry assize, 1786; George Geddes was tried, and found guilty on two indictments, for cruelly beating and maiming two of his own slaves. Sentence to pay a fine to the king of £100, on each indictment, and to be imprisoned six months in the jail of

The great, and I fear incurable, defect in the system of slavery, is the circumstance already

Kingston, and until payment of the fine, and afterwards to find security for his good behaviour, &c."

"Surry assize, 1778. John Durant, a free man of Colour, was indicted and found guilty of assaulting a Negro man slave named Sacco, the property of Eliza Wheeler, a free Negro woman. Sentenced to be publicly flogged at the Beef-market."

"Quarter sessions, Kingston, August, 1791. The *King versus Thomson*, for assaulting and falsely imprisoning a Negro boy, the property of Francis Robertson. Found guilty and fined 10*l.*—*King versus Bender*, for wantonly and immoderately punishing a negro man, his own property, named Fortune. Found guilty and fined 20*l.*"

The above are extracts fairly abridged from the records in the proper office in Jamaica. Testimonies of the same kind, more fully stated, from the Island of St. Christopher, appear in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council; to whom evidence was likewise given that a White man, in the Island of Grenada, was, in the year 1776, convicted of the murder of his own slave, and executed. If many other cases cannot be cited, it may fairly be supposed, from those which have been adduced, that fresh occasion has not often been given. The following shocking instance, however, happened in Jamaica, in the summer of 1791:—William Rattrary, a carpenter at the port of Rio Bueno, in a fit of drunkenness, threw an axe at a negro boy, his own slave, which unfortunately killed him on the spot. The coroner's inquest finding it wilful murder, the man was apprehended, and sent to gaol in irons. He was not, it is true, publicly tried and hanged for the crime; for, being well assured that such would be his fate, he thought it best to execute justice on himself, and found in suicide an

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mentioned, that the evidence of the slave cannot be admitted against a White person, even in cases of the most atrocious injury. This is an evil to which, on several accounts, I fear no direct and efficacious remedy can be applied. In some of the islands, however, attempts have been made, with an earnestness suited to the importance of the subject, to supply the defect; and expedients have been adopted for that purpose, which, in most cases, it may be hoped, will have the good consequence of a solid protection. By the new slave act of Grenada, the justices are required annually to nominate three freeholders to be *guardians of the slaves*; who are to take an oath to see the law duly executed. They are not only to inspect the provision-ground, the clothing, and maintenance, and to inquire into the general treatment of the slaves, but also to interrogate on oath the managers and overseers, concerning the due observance of the law; and in case of breaches thereof, to prosecute the offenders. Of this measure the report of the Privy Council expresses the highest approbation:— "The obliging managers and overseers (it observes) *to answer upon oath*, gives peculiar efficacy to a regulation intended for the benefit of persons whose testimony, by the law of the

escape from the gallows. This fact, which is within my own knowledge, is certainly no proof that murderers of their own slaves escape with impunity.

country, could not be heard in a prosecution against a White person."

In the same liberal spirit, and co-operating to the same generous end, the legislature of Jamaica have constituted the justices and vestry of each parish in that Island, *a council of protection*, expressly for the purpose of making full inquiry into the barbarities exercised on slaves, and bringing the authors to punishment at the public expence. With this view, it is enacted, that when any complaint, *or probable intelligence from any slave*, or otherwise, is made before a justice of the peace, of the mutilation and confinement of a slave, the justice is impowered and required to issue his warrant to bring the slave before him for inspection. "By this regulation (say the assembly) it is intended, as far as possible, to take from the owner the power of concealment; for the magistrate is enabled to obtain a view of the fact, on evidence, which, in other cases is, and ought to be, inadmissible." By another clause in the same act, in order more effectually to prevent the destruction of negroes by excessive labour and unreasonable punishments, the surgeon of every plantation is required to produce and deliver in upon oath, to the justices and vestry, an annual account of the decrease and increase of the slaves of such plantation, assigning also the causes of such decrease, to the best of his

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judgment and belief. On this head the assembly remark "how tender and cautious every rational manager must necessarily be in the punishments which he administers, who considers, that he has a resident inspector into his conduct, and that the punishment of death may follow an abuse of his authority."

Such are a few of the many forcible and decisive testimonies which the resident planters in the West Indies have given to the world of their just abhorrence of all acts of cruelty and oppression towards the poor people over whom the accident of birth or fortune have invested them with power.—They have demonstrated that their inclination concurs with their interest effectually to perform whatever humanity and the sense of reciprocal obligation require towards their African labourers; and they have armed the law with additional energy, in the hope of curbing those passions, suppressing those frailties, and preventing those excesses, which the plenitude of power is too apt to encourage. If this effect cannot, in all cases and contingencies, be produced, the failure must be comprized among the many other insurmountable difficulties and irresistible evils of life, for which human wisdom has hitherto in vain sought a remedy.

The grand (and I admit the most plausible) accusation against the general conduct of the

planters, arises from the necessity they find themselves under of having an annual recruit of slaves from Africa, to fill up the numbers that perish in the West Indies. So long as it shall appear that the natural increase of the negroes already in the Sugar Islands, is insufficient for this purpose, it will be contended that this circumstance, of itself, affords an obvious and undeniable proof that it is *not* to individuals alone, the blame of improper treatment ought to be attributed. *That* power, it is urged, must in almost all cases be abused, and *that* slavery must be universally excessive, which give occasion to so dreadful a waste of life. The objection has been anticipated, and in part answered, in the preceding pages, by the proof that has been given of the great disproportion of the sexes in the yearly importations from Africa. It has been shewn from unquestionable authority, that one third only are females. Thus, notwithstanding every allowance for the Creoles or natives, who may reasonably be supposed to have increased according to the general laws of nature, there was in the year 1789, in Jamaica alone, an excess in its negro population of 30,000 males. But this is not the whole extent of the evil. It is a truth well known, that the practice of polygamy, which universally prevails in Africa, is also very generally adopted among the negroes in the West Indies; and he

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who conceives that a remedy may be found for this, by introducing among them the laws of marriage as established in Europe, is utterly ignorant of their manners, propensities, and superstitions. It is reckoned in Jamaica, on a moderate computation, that not less than ten thousand of such as are called Head Negroes (artificers and others) possess from two to four wives. This partial appropriation of the women creates a still greater proportion of single men, and produces all the mischiefs which are necessarily attached to the system of polygamy. In Africa, the redundancy of males, occasioned by an unequal distribution of the females, is undoubtedly one of the sources which supplies the European trader with slaves; and the consequences attending it among the negroes in the West Indies, are a shocking licentiousness and profligacy of manners in most of their women; who are exposed to temptations which they cannot resist. They hold chastity in so little estimation, that barrenness and frequent abortions, the usual effects of a promiscuous intercourse, are very generally prevalent among them. To the same origin may be ascribed that neglect, and want of maternal affection, towards the children produced by former connections, observable in many of the Black females.

The circumstances thus enumerated, operat-

ing with combined energy, are abundantly sufficient to account for the annual diminution in the number of the slaves; and I see no good reason why it should not be frankly admitted, that slavery itself, in its mildest form, is unfriendly to population. The human race, to increase in numbers, must be placed in favourable circumstances; and, unless reason and sentiment in some degree co-operate with corporeal instinct, its offspring is born but to perish. Among men who are deprived of free agency, or by whom it is but imperfectly enjoyed, neither reason nor sentiment can be the ruling principle. It is needless to pursue this argument any farther. Men of reflection, apprized of the fact that such disproportion between the sexes exists among the Negroes, will draw the proper conclusion from it, and agree that an abolition of the slave trade will not afford a remedy.

Thus have I delivered, in a detail which the reader will probably find too diffuse and minute, such observations as have occurred to me on the several matters, of which I proposed to treat. I have declined to enlarge on the various calumnies, and gross misrepresentations, which have been spread and encouraged against the planters, because it is their misfortune that, on this question, many virtuous, humane, and pious men, misled by popular prejudice, openly

concur in, and give their sanction to, the malignant efforts, and uncharitable misconstructions of the envious and illiberal. Such proceedings, however, are as impolitic as they are unjust. They are equally injurious to the master and the slave. By exciting among the Negroes a spirit of discontent and disobedience, they compel, in many cases, the benevolent man to restrain that hand which otherwise would be stretched out for their relief; and thus, by rendering their masters odious in their eyes, these unfortunate people (apprized at the same time that they are held in a subjection which is reprobated in the mother-country) may be led to make a general struggle for freedom, through desolation and bloodshed. Far be it from me, however, to impute motives so atrocious to any of those respectable characters whose exertions for an abolition of the slave trade are at this time the object of public attention. Most of these gentlemen, without doubt, consider this measure as only the first process in a more extended and liberal plan, which has for its object, by stopping the further influx of Negroes into our islands, to compel the planters to cherish and husband their present stock; and sustain it in future by natural increase; until, by milder treatment, and the Christian institutes, the manners of the slaves shall become softened, their vices

corrected, and their dispositions gradually prepared for a total emancipation from that absolute slavery in which they are now held. Such is the language, and I doubt not, the fond expectation of many wise and excellent persons. They consider that all this will be the necessary effect of the interposition of parliament, in prohibiting the further importation of African slaves into our colonies. I have assigned such reasons as occur to me for believing that this conclusion is founded in error, and will terminate in disappointment. That I am no friend to slavery, in any shape, or under any modification, I feel a conscious assurance in my own bosom. Yet that the slavery of some part of the human species, in a very abject degree, has existed in all ages of the world, among the most civilized as well as the most barbarous nations, no man who has consulted the records of history disputes. Perhaps, like pain, poverty, sickness, and sorrow, and all the various other calamities of our condition, it may have been originally interwoven into the constitution of the world, for purposes inscrutable to man. Of this I am certain, that an immediate emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, would involve both master and slave in one common destruction. Thus much however is allowed; the miseries we cannot wholly remove, we may in some cases mitigate: we may alleviate, though we cannot

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cure. I have shewn that this has been attempted, and in many instances effected too, by the planters themselves. What yet remains to be done, consistently with sound policy, and a just regard even to the safety and happiness of the Negroes themselves, is a subject of deep and difficult consideration. Hasty measures, however humane in appearance, and plausible in theory, may produce the most calamitous of all contests, a *bellum servile;* which will probably never end but in the extermination of either the Whites or the Blacks. Among the great variety of schemes which have been offered for further meliorating the condition of the slaves, the most obvious seem to be these: First, to render their labour certain and determinate: in other words, to apportion to each Negro, according to his strength, a specific quantity of work to be performed in a given time; allowing to such of them as shall have finished their task within the time limited, the rest of the day to themselves, and pay them wages for extra labour. This is not always practicable, but when it is, I am inclined to think favourably of the scheme, because it seems calculated to awaken a spirit of emulation and industry, which the dread of punishment can never produce. At the same time, it will be necessary to secure to the Negroes by law, the little property or *peculium* which their own industry

may thus acquire. A second proposal is to make them arbiters on the conduct of each other, by instituting a sort of juries among them for the trial of petty offences. It is conceived that such a measure will give them right notions of distributive justice, and operate powerfully towards their civilization and improvement; and I have heard of two instances in Jamaica in which it has been tried with success; but it is evidently a regulation that must be governed by circumstances, and left principally to the prudence and discretion of the owner: an attempt to establish and enforce it by law, in their present notions of right and wrong, would, I fear, create inextricable confusion. A third measure has been recommended, of less doubtful efficacy. It is, to render the sabbath, what it ought to be, a day of rest and religious improvement; to which end, the markets on Sundays ought to be suppressed. They are a disgrace to a christian country; and, if a market is found absolutely necessary to encourage the Negroes in labouring for themselves, some other day, once a fortnight, may be appropriated for that purpose.* In the mean time,

* The objection to this scheme is, that it will deprive the planters yearly of twenty-six days labour of the whole body of their Negroes, without producing the effect intended, as the whole of each Sunday will, in such case, be spent in drunkenness and debauchery at home. If this objection be well-founded, let the days which are now given

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instead of abolishing the slave-trade by act of parliament, further encouragement should be given to the importation of a greater proportion of African women, until the sexes are become nearly equal; after which it is probable that, under the present humane and improved system of laws and manners, their numbers may be kept up by natural increase. If this good consequence shall happily be produced, it cannot be doubted that the slave-trade will of itself gradually diminish, and perhaps in a few years cease altogether, and expire without a struggle.

But these, and all other regulations which can be devised for the protection and improvement of this unfortunate class of people, will be of little avail, unless, as a preliminary measure, they shall be exempted from the cruel hardship, to which they are now frequently liable, of being sold by creditors, and made subject, in a course of administration by executors, to the payment of all debts both of simple contract and specialty. This grievance, so remorseless and tyrannical in its principle, and so dreadful in its effects, though not originally created, is now upheld and confirmed, by a British act of

to the slaves (exclusive of Sundays) be the days of market, and compel them to work in their own gardens four or five hours every Sunday morning, and attend divine service in the afternoon. Honest labour must surely be more pleasing to the Almighty, as it is certainly more beneficial to man, than profligacy and riot.

parliament; and no less authority is competent to redress it. It was an act procured by, and passed for the benefit of, British creditors; and I blush to add, that its motive and origin have sanctified the measure even in the opinion of men who are among the loudest of the declaimers against slavery and the slave trade.* Thus the odious severity of the Roman law, which declared sentient beings to be *inter res*, is revived and perpetuated in a country that pretends to christianity! In a few years a good Negro gets comfortably established, has built himself a house, obtained a wife, and begins to see a young family rising about him. His provision-ground, the creation of his own industry, and the staff of his existence, affords him not only support, but the means also of adding something to the mere necessaries of life. In this situation, he is seized on by the sheriff's officer, forcibly separated from his wife and children, dragged to public auction, purchased by a stranger, and perhaps sent to terminate his miserable existence in the mines of Mexico, excluded for ever from the light

* The act alluded to, is the 5 George II. c. 7. entitled "An act for the more easy recovery of debts in his Majesty's plantations." Of the most violent of the petitioners to parliament, not one has solicited the repeal of this execrable statute. The society in the Old Jewry, though apprized of the grievance, its origin, and the remedy, are silent on the subject. They are men of the world, and with all their philanthropy, probably consider no rights so sacred as those of creditors.

of heaven; and all this without any crime or demerit on his part, real or pretended. He is punished because his master is unfortunate. I do not believe that any case of force or fraud in Africa can be productive of greater misery than this! Neither can it be urged, that, like, some unauthorized cases of cruelty in the West Indies, it occurs but seldom: unhappily, it occurs every day, and, under the present system, will continue to occur, so long as men shall continue to be unfortunate.

Let this statute then be totally repealed. It is injurious to the national character; it is disgraceful to humanity. Let the Negroes be attached to the land, and sold with it. The good effect of a similar regulation in the system of ancient villenage has been pointed out and illustrated by a great many writers; and those persons who now oppose an extension of the same benefit to the Negroes in the West Indies, would do well to reflect, that, while they arraign the conduct of the resident planters towards their slaves, they are themselves abettors and supporters of the greatest of all the grievances under which those unfortunate people continue to suffer.*

* It is peculiarly gratifying to the Author of this work that he has the opportunity, in the present edition, to inform his readers, that in June 1797, he had the honour and happiness, as a member of the British Parliament, to bring into the House of Commons, and to succeed in carrying it into a law, a bill to repeal so much of the 5 Geo. II. c. 7. as relates to Negroes in his Majesty's plantations.

A valuable Friend, than whom no man is better acquainted with the Negro character, and the condition of the enslaved Africans, has favoured me with the following observations, which occurred to him on a perusal of the preceding chapter in the first edition.

"That the treatment of the Negroes in the British West Indies, even before what has been lately done by the colonial assemblies to meliorate their condition, was not systematically bad, is to me convincing from this fact, which all who are acquainted with Negroes on plantations must admit: that the Creole race (with some few eminent exceptions) exceed the African in intellect, strength, and comeliness, in a very remarkable manner. If a better horse is produced from an inferior breed, it is fair to conclude that the colt has had a better groom, and a better pasture than the common on which the dam usually fed. The great object to be wished at present, as it appears to me, is to purify the *moral sense* of Negroes. Hitherto, with all their improvements, they have caught from the Whites, I am afraid, more of the vices than the virtues of civilization. Correct the idea, which a Negro may be said to imbibe with his mother's milk, that whatever he can cheat his owner of, in any direction, is clear gain to himself. Make the interest of the master and the slave go hand in hand. Now I think that small wages, subject to stoppage for delinquency, would have this effect. Such a system would be laying a foundation on which a large superstructure might be built in the reformation of manners. Even in point of expence, an estate can well afford it; for the aggregate of time wasted in the sick-house, on the mere pretence of illness, is equal

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to a little fortune to every planter. When I was last in Jamaica, I made the experiment with a body of tradesmen, and punctually paid to each at the end of the week (if a week's work was done) TWO BITS.* The effect in point of labour was wonderful, and I believe the system would in time have taught the Negroes also, that honesty was better policy than thieving, &c. and have led by degrees to consequences still more important and beneficial both to the master and the slave."

* About one shilling English.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

APPENDIXES

TO

BOOK IV.

NUMBER I.

As a supplement to such part of the preceding book, as relates to the treatment of the Negroes in the British West Indies, it is thought necessary to present the reader with the CONSOLIDATED SLAVE ACT OF JAMAICA, *passed the 2d of March,* 1792. *It is presumed that this law will demonstrate to general conviction, that the legislature of Jamaica, availing themselves as well of the reproaches of their enemies, as of the suggestions of their friends, have given all possible encouragement to the raising of Negro children in the island, and secured to their labourers as much freedom, and as great a latitude of enjoyment of the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of life, as can be done consistently with their own preservation. The humane reader will not complain of the length of this Appendix, if he shall hereafter find that the other British Islands in the West Indies, encouraged by the example before them, shall introduce the benevolent provisions of this Act, into their Negro code.*

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JAMAICA, *ff.*

An Act to repeal an act, intituled "An act to repeal several acts and clauses of acts respecting slaves, and for the better order and government of slaves, and for other purposes; and also to repeal the several acts and clauses of acts, which were repealed by the act intituled as aforesaid; and for consolidating and bringing into one act, the several laws relating to slaves, and for giving them further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences; and for other purposes.

Preamble.

Whereas it is for the public good, that all the laws respecting the order and government of slaves, should be consolidated, and brought into one law, in order to prevent confusion, and that justice may more effectually be executed respecting slaves; and whereas it is found necessary, for the purpose of giving further security to slaves, that the mode of trial of slaves charged with capital offences should be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is necessary that all the herein after-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, should be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly of this your Majesty's island of Jamaica, do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted, Be it therefore enacted, by the lieutenant governor, council, and assembly of the said island, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this act, all and every the said herein before-mentioned laws, and clauses of laws, and every part thereof, be and stand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby

Laws and clauses of laws to be repealed.

annulled, repealed, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, any thing in the said laws, and clauses of laws, or in any other law, contained, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of slaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and supplying them with good and wholesome provisions, and proper and sufficient clothing, and all such other things as may be proper and necessary for them, during their being in a state of slavery; For which end and purpose, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this Act, every master, owner, or possessor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatsoever, shall allot and appoint a sufficient quantity of land for every slave he shall have in possession upon, or belonging to, such plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every such slave, and allow such slave sufficient time to work the same, in order to provide him, her, or themselves, with sufficient provisions for his, her, or their maintenance: and also, all such masters, owners, or possessors of plantations, pens, or other lands, shall plant upon such plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground-provisions, at least one acre of land for every *ten* negroes that he shall be possessed of on such plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the Negro-grounds aforesaid; which lands shall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Proprietors &c. to allot land for every slave, and to allow him to cultivate it.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every such master, owner, or possessor, or his or her overseer or chief manager, shall personally inspect into the condition of such negro-grounds once in every month at least, in order to see that the same are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath shall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed. And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens,

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Slaves otherwise provided for.

settlements, and towns, in this island, there may not be lands proper for the purposes aforesaid; then, and in that case, the masters, owners, or possessors, do, by some other ways and means, make good and ample provision for all such slaves as they shall be possessed of, equal to the value of two shillings and sixpence currency per week for each slave, in order that they may be properly supported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners obliged to provide for disabled slaves.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no master, owner, or possessor, of any slave or slaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, trustee, executor, or otherwise, shall discard or turn away any such slave or slaves, on account of or by reason of such slave or slaves being rendered incapable of labour or service to such master, owner, or possessor, by means of sickness, age, or infirmity; but every such master, owner, or possessor, as aforesaid, shall be and he is hereby obliged to keep all such slave or slaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholesome necessaries of life, and not suffer such slave or slaves as aforesaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthensome to others for sustenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every such offence, to be recovered in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace in this island; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cause such master, owner, or possessor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and such other persons as he shall judge necessary, to be summoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of such information, and whether such master, owner, or possessor, ought to incur the said penalty; and in the mean time, and until such trial can be had, the said justice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any white person, upon oath, is hereby empowered and required to take up such wandering, sick, aged, or infirm slave or slaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the

nearest workhouse, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the master, owner, or possessor, until such trial as aforesaid can be had; and if it shall appear to the said justice, on such trial, that the party or parties so complained of is or are guilty of the said offence, and shall refuse to pay the said ten pounds, and the fees to such workhouse for the maintenance of such slave or slaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the said justice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his hand and seal, directed to the constable, to commit such offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or parish where the offence shall be committed, there to remain until he or she shall pay the said sum of ten pounds, and charges as aforesaid: one moiety of which said fine shall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety shall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of such parish, for the poor of the said parish; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Slaves to be clothed by their owner once a year.

V. And, for the better encouragement of slaves to do their duty to their masters, owners, or possessors, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, or possessor of slaves, shall, once in every year, provide and give to each slave they shall be possessed of, proper and sufficient clothing, to be approved of by the justices and vestry of the parish where such master, owner, or possessor of such slaves resides, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners to instruct slaves in the Christian religion.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavours to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently they can, cause

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to be baptized, all such as they can make sensible of a Deity and the Christian faith.

Owners to give in an account of provision-ground.

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year, shall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect, also give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground-provisions, over and above the negro-grounds, upon such plantation, pen, or other settlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of such provisions; and, where there are not lands proper for such purposes, then an account, on oath, of the provision made on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the slaves thereon; and shall also, at the same time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually served to each slave on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, for the approbation of the justices and vestry as aforesaid; and shall, likewise, at the same time declare, on oath, that he hath inspected the negro-grounds (where such grounds are allotted) of such plantation, pen, or settlement, according to the directions of this act.

Premium to slaves for informing on runaways, &c.

VIII. And, in order to encourage slaves for every good and worthy act that they shall do, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every slave or slaves that shall take up any runaway slave, or inform against any person who shall have or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, so that such runaway slave or slaves may be taken and restored to his owner or owners; every such slave or slaves, so informing, shall be entitled to such reward as any justice shall in reason and justice think just and reasonable, and be paid by such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding twenty shillings.

The killing or apprehending rebellious slaves rewarded.

IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave or slaves shall kill or take any slave or slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof shall be reimbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any moneys in his hands unappropriated.

Persons mutilating slaves fined and imprisoned.

X. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any slave or slaves, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their knowledge, sufferance, privity, or consent, mutilate or dismember any slave or slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the supreme court of judicature, or in any of the assize courts of this island; and, upon conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months, for each and every slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for recovery of damages for or on account of the same: And, in very atrocious cases, where the owner of such slave or slaves shall be convicted for such offence, the court before whom such offender shall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in case they shall think it necessary, for the future protection of such slave or slaves, to declare him, her, or them free, and discharged from all manner of servitude, to all intents and purposes whatsoever: And, in all such cases,

Mutilated slaves, in certain cases, declared free.

the court are hereby empowered and authorized, if to them it shall appear necessary, to order and direct the said fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the justices and vestry of the parish to which the said slave or slaves belonged, to the use of the said parish, the said justices and vestry, in consideration thereof, paying to such of the said slave or slaves so made free, the sum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their maintenance and support during life; and in case any slave or slaves shall suffer any before-described mutilations, such slave or slaves, on his, her, or their application to any justice of the peace, the said justice of the peace shall be, and is hereby directed, required, and empowered, on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to send such slave or slaves to the nearest workhouse where such offence shall be committed, and such slave or slaves shall be there safely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence of such parish, until such time as there may be a legal meeting of the justices and vestry of such parish; which justices and vestry so met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of such slave or slaves;

Justices to enquire into such mutilations, and prosecute the offenders.

And the said justices and vestry, so met, are hereby directed and empowered to make further and full inquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the mutilation of such slave or slaves; and, if to them it shall appear proper, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered and required to prosecute to effect such owner or owners; the expence of which prosecution shall be paid by the parish where such offence shall be committed: And in case the

Owners sued for costs.

owner or owners of such slave or slaves shall appear capable of paying the costs and charges of such before-mentioned prosecution, the said justices and vestry are hereby empowered to commence suit or suits against such owner or owners of such slave or slaves, and recover all costs and charges out of purse, by them laid out and expended in such suit or suits: And the keeper or supervisor of the workhouse where such mutilated slave or slaves shall have

been first committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the first meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish where the offence was committed, to produce such mutilated slave or slaves, for the inspection and direction of such justices and vestry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect, in not producing before such justices and vestry such slave or slaves.

Justices to issue their warrants to bring mutilated slaves before them.

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any justice of the peace shall receive any complaint or probable intelligence from any slave or otherwise, that any slave or slaves is or are so mutilated, or is or are confined without sufficient support, it shall and may be lawful for such justice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to issue his warrant to any constable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where such slave or slaves, so mutilated, are confined, and such slave or slaves to release and bring before such justice, who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorized to send such slave or slaves to the workhouse for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until inquiry shall be made into the fact according to law.

Persons wilfully killing slaves to suffer death.

XII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person hereafter shall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly kill, or cause to be killed, any negro or other slave, such person so offending shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer death accordingly for the said offence: Provided always, that such conviction shall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

Persons cruelly beating slaves, how punishable.

XIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any per-

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son or persons that shall wantonly or cruelly whip, maltreat, beat, bruise, wound, or shall imprison or keep in confinement, without sufficient support, any slave or slaves, shall be subject to be indicted for the same in the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize, or courts of quarter sessions in this island; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, she, or they, shall suffer such punishment, by fine or imprisonment, or both, as the judges or justices of such courts shall think proper to inflict; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding: And such punishment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the same, in case such slave or slaves shall not be the property of the offender.

Arbitrary punishment restrained.

XIV. And, in order to restrain arbitrary punishments, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive more than ten lashes at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or supervisor of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol, shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, supervisor, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, punish a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence, nor inflict, or suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, or any other number of lashes, in the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former punishment, under the penalty of ten pounds for every offence, to be recovered against the person directing or permitting such punishment.

Putting iron collars or other chains on slaves, prohibited.

XV. And whereas a mischievous practice hath sometimes prevailed of punishing ill-disposed slaves, and such as are apt to abscond from their owners, by fixing or causing

to be fixed round the necks of such slaves, an iron collar with projecting bars or hooks, to prevent the future desertion of such slaves; Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no person shall, on any pretence whatsoever, under the penalty of fifty pounds, punish any negro or other slave, whether his own property or otherwise, by fixing, or causing to be fixed, any iron or other collar round the neck of such slave, or by loading the body or limbs of such slave, for any offence whatsoever, with chains, irons, or weights of any kind, other than such as are absolutely necessary for securing the person of such slave; and all and every the justices of the peace, within this island, are hereby authorized, directed, and required, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, on information and view of such offence, to order such collar, chains, irons, or weights, to be immediately taken off from the slave or slaves wearing or bearing the same.

XVI. And whereas, from the decease and removal of residence of many proprietors of slaves, and other circumstances, and from the manumission of negro, mulatto, and other slaves, without any suitable provision being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious distempers, or disabled from labour by sickness, old age, and otherwise, and having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuisance to the several towns and parishes of this island: For remedy whereof, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices and vestrymen of the several towns and parishes in this island be empowered, and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the said several towns and parishes in the same manner as the parochial taxes are usually laid, for the purpose of raising such a sum as they shall judge sufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouses or other convenient places of the said se-

Justices and vestry to support disabled negroes.

BOOK IV.

How such slaves are to be disposed of.

veral towns and parishes of this island, of such negro, mulatto, or other slaves, or other unhappy objects as aforesaid; And the magistrates respectively of such town and parish are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all such objects as aforesaid to be removed and conveyed to the respective workhouses of each parish, where (if a slave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of such slave lived or resided; or, if a person of colour made free, where the person or persons who manumised or set free such person of colour resided before his decease, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforesaid: And the magistrates and vestries of the several towns and parishes as aforesaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time all such humane and salutary regulations, for the purposes aforesaid, as to them shall appear necessary and expedient.

XVII. And whereas it is absolutely necessary, that the slaves in this island should be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due subordination to the white people in general, and, as much as in the power of the legislature, all means and opportunities of slaves committing rebellions conspiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and destruction of the white people, and others in this island, prevented, and that proper punishments should be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no slave, such only excepted as are going with firewood, grass, fruit, provisions, or small stock and other goods, which they may lawfully sell, to market, and returning therefrom, shall hereafter be suffered or permitted to go out of his or her master or owner's plantation or settlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unless such slave shall have a ticket from his master, owner, employer, or overseer, expressing particularly the time of such slave's setting out, and where he or she is going, and the time limited for his or her re-

Owners must not allow their slaves to travel without tickets,

turn, under a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for every slave so offending, to be recovered from the master, owner, employer, or overseer, in a summary manner, before any one justice of the peace, by warrant of distress, complaint being made to him upon oath, unless the master, owner, employer or overseer, of such slave shall prove, upon oath, before any justice of the peace of the parish or precinct where such master, owner, employer, or overseer, may or shall live, or happen to be, that he did give the said slave such ticket as aforesaid, or that such slave went away without his consent; and if such justice shall refuse or neglect his duty, either in causing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforesaid, on the owner, overseer, or any other person, who shall suffer a slave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforesaid, every justice so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

under penalty.

Penalty on neglect of duty.

XVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That for the future, all slaves in this island shall be allowed the usual number of holidays that were allowed at the usual seasons of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; Provided, That, at every such respective season, no two holidays shall be allowed to follow or succeed immediately one after the other, except at Christmas, when they shall be allowed Christmas-day, and also the day immediately succeeding; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding: And if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer of such plantation or settlement, shall presume, at the seasons aforesaid, to allow any holidays to any slave belonging to any such plantation or settlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every person so offending shall forfeit the sum of five pounds.

Slaves allowed holidays.

XIX. And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island, to allow their slaves one day

in every fortnighit to cultivate their own provision-grounds (exclusive of Sundays) except during the time of crop; but the same not being compulsory, Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the slaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the holidays herein before-mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the care of such slaves.

Slaves allowed one day in every fortnight.

XX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every field-slave on such plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed, according to custom, half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slaves shall be compelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer, or other person having the care of such slaves.

Time allowed for breakfast, &c.

XXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or settlement, shall hereafter suffer any strange slaves, exceeding twelve in number, to assemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, or in any yard or place under his, her, or their care or management, or shall not endeavour to disperse or prevent the same, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magistrate or commissioned officer, that a proper force may be sent to disperse the said slaves; every such master, owner, guardian, or attorney, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize, pay a fine of fifty pounds to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, for and towards

Penalty for suffering unlawful assemblies of slaves.

the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheless, That information of such offence shall be made, upon oath, before any of his Majesty's justices of the peace, within the space of five days after the commission of such offence.

Civil or military officers to suppress such assemblies.

XXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all officers, civil and military, shall be, and are hereby, empowered and required, to enter into any plantation, settlement, or other place, to disperse all such unlawful assemblies, and to suppress and prevent all unlawful drummings or other noise, as before-mentioned; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at negro dances, and nightly meetings of the slaves of different plantations, when such slaves are generally intoxicated: and as it has been found also, that those meetings tend much to injure the healths of negroes; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer, or, in his absence, any book-keeper, or other white person, having the care and management of any plantation or settlement, shall suffer any slaves to assemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or shells, every such overseer, book-keeper, or other white person, so offending, shall, for every such offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the supreme court of judicature, or before the justices of assize, suffer six months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize: Provided information is made, upon oath as aforesaid, before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, within five days after the commission of such offence: And provided always nevertheless, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent any master, owner, or proprietor, of any plantation or settlement, or the overseer thereof, from granting liberty to the slaves of such plantation or settlement only, for assembling to-

Overseers, &c. who suffer such, assemblies to be imprisoned

Proviso.

gether upon such plantation or settlement, and playing and diverting themselves in any innocent amusements, so as they do not make use of military drums, horns, or shells; but that they shall and may grant such liberty when and as often as they please, any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, that such amusements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night.

Negro burials to be in day time.

XXIV. And, in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among negro and other slaves, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all negro burials shall in future take place in the day-time only, so that the same may be ended before sunset; and if any master, owner, or possessor of slaves, his or her overseer, or chief manager, shall knowingly suffer or permit the burial of any slave otherwise than as before directed, he shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

Imprisonment for negroes suffering assemblies at their houses.

XXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall hereafter suffer any unlawful assembly of slaves at his or her house or settlement, every such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, upon due conviction thereof, suffer imprisonment, not exceeding six months; Provided nevertheless, That information thereof shall be given, on oath, within five days of such unlawful meeting.

Slaves not to keep fire-arms.

XXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall hereafter be found to have in his or their custody, any fire-arms, gunpowder, slugs, or balls, such slave, being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouse, not exceeding the term of six months.

XXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall offer any violence, by

striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave, upon due and proper proof, shall upon conviction, be punished with death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwise, as the court shall, in their discretion, think proper to inflict: Provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons entrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners' persons or goods.

Punishment on slaves offering violence to whites.

XXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any slave or slaves, who shall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway slave or slaves, shall be liable to be tried for the same at the slave court hereinafter appointed, and, on conviction, suffer such punishment as the justices of the said court shall think proper to inflict, not extending to life or limb.

Punishment on slaves harbouring slaves.

XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and safety of this island, to suffer slaves to continue out as runaways, and it is absolutely necessary to declare and make known to the public what slaves shall be deemed such: Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, any slave or slaves who shall be absent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the space of ten days, and shall be found at the distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or other settlement, to which he, she, or they belong, without a ticket or other permit to pass, except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market, shall be deemed a runaway.

Who are deemed runaways.

XXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any person whatsoever, who shall apprehend such slave or slaves, shall, for every one so apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer or overseer, or manager of such slave or slaves, the sum of ten shillings, and no more, besides mile-money, at the rate of one shil-

Reward for securing runaways.

ling per mile for the first five miles, and sixpence per mile afterwards: Provided such slave or slaves had absented him, her, or themselves, ten days, without the privity, knowledge, or consent, of the proprietor, overseer, or other white person, residing on the plantation or settlement to which such slave or slaves shall belong; which time of absence of such slave or slaves shall be declared on the oath of such proprietor, overseer, or other white person, as aforesaid, if the party taking up such slave or slaves shall require it: But it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every person or persons who shall apprehend any slave or slaves, that usually reside in, or are employed in, any of the towns of this island, and that at the time are actually runaway or absent from their owner, employer, or manager's service, ten days, shall be entitled to the reward of ten shillings, although the slave or slaves should not be eight miles distant frem their employer's habitation: Provided nevertheless, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to extend to an allowance of the said sum of ten shillings and mile-money, in addition to the sum allowed to maroon negroes for apprehending runaways: And provided also, That it is not hereby intended to deprive the said maroons of their legal and established reward of forty shillings for each negro.

Proviso.

How runaways are to be disposed of.

XXXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the person or persons so apprehending such slave or slaves, shall convey him, her, or them, to their respective owner, employer, or manager, or to the workhouse of such parish, if any workhouse, is established there; and in case of there being no workhouse, to the next gaol, in case the owner, employer, or manager, of such slave or slaves shall refuse to pay the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, or take the oath as to the time of absence; in which case, the gaol

or workhouse-keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive such slave or slaves into his or their custody, and to pay the party delivering such slave or slaves the said sum of ten shillings, and mile-money as aforesaid, and no more, for each slave so delivered, under the penalty of five pounds. Provided nevertheless, That if such slave or slaves is or are brought to any gaol or workhouse by any white person, free negro, free mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouse-keeper shall pay such sum before such person shall have taken an oath, (which oath such gaoler or workhouse-keeper is hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to file in his office and produce, whenever thereunto required by the owner or possessor of such slave or slaves) that the slave or slaves so apprehended was or were at the reputed distance of eight miles from the house, plantation, or settlement, to which such slave or slaves do belong (except as before is excepted), and that such slave or slaves had no ticket or other permit in writing from his master, mistress, overseer, employer, or manager, at the time such slave or slaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them, to pass unmolested, and that the said slave or slaves had been carried first to the owner, employer, or manager, of such slave or slaves (provided such owner, employer, or manager, shall be in the parish in which such slave or slaves shall be apprehended), and that the master, mistress, overseer, or manager, had refused to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act.

Time of tickets limited.

XXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no ticket shall be granted to any slave or slaves for any time exceeding one calendar month.

Account of births and deaths must be given in.

XXXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid), or within thirty days after, the owner, overseer, or manager of every

plantation, pen, or settlement, shall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the slaves of such plantation, pen, or settlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner of such plantation, pen, or other settlement.

Overseer to pay if his neglect.

XXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, if the not giving in upon oath such several accounts shall be owing to the neglect of the overseer or manager of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, it shall and may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or possessor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, to stop and detain the penalty he or she shall suffer by this law, out of the wages of such overseer or manager.

Surgeons to give in an account of slaves dying.

XXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the doctor or surgeon of every plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall, on the twenty-eighth day of December, in every year (the time of giving in as aforesaid) or within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath, of the deaths of such slaves as have died in the preceding year, or during such time as such doctor or surgeon hath had the care of the slaves on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, with the cause of such deaths, to the best of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect: And in case it shall appear, to the satisfaction of the justices and vestry, from the return of the owner, overseer, or manager aforesaid, that there has been a natural increase in the number of slaves on any such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the overseer shall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, the sum of three pounds for every slave born on such plantation, pen, or other settlement, in the time aforesaid, and which shall be then living, after deducting the decrease: and the owner or proprietor of such plantation, pen, or other settlement, shall have a deduction from the first of his or her public taxes that shall become due, of the sum

Encouragement for increase of slaves.

so paid to the overseer, on producing a certificate of the justices and vestry of such increase, and a receipt of the overseer for the sum so paid.

Further encouragement for increase of slaves.

XXXVI. And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the increase and protection of negro infants, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every female slave, who shall have six children living, shall be exempted from hard labour in the field or otherwise, and the owner or possessor of every such female slave shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for such female slave, any thing in the act commonly called the poll-tax law, or any other of the tax laws of this island passed, or annually to be passed, to the contrary notwithstanding: and a deduction shall be made for all such female slaves from the taxes of such owner or possessor, by certificate of the justices and vestry, at the same time, and in manner as directed in the case of an annual increase of the number of slaves as aforesaid; Provided nevertheless, That proof be given, on oath, to the satisfaction of the said justices and vestry, not only that the requisite number of children, together with the mother, are living; but also that the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other hard labour, and is provided with the means of an easy and comfortable maintenance.

Penalty on free negroes, &c. granting tickets to slaves.

XXXVII. And whereas the more effectually to conceal runaway slaves, or prevent their being apprehended, tickets are given by Indians, free negroes, or free mulattoes, Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, granting or giving such ticket, with such intent, shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the said offence before the supreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of assize in this island where the offence shall be committed; and, on conviction, shall suffer the loss of freedom, transportation, or such other punishment as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

BOOK IV.

Whites granting such tickets punishable.

XXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if such ticket shall be granted or given by any white person, with such intent as aforesaid, to any slave or slaves, before or after his or their absenting themselves from their owner, employer, overseer, or manager, such white person shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall be liable to be tried for the same before the supreme court of judicature, or either of the assize courts of this island, where the offence shall be committed; and, on conviction, shall suffer such punishment as the court, in their discretion, shall think proper to inflict.

Keepers of gaols, &c. to advertise runaways,

XXXIX. And, to the end that the owner, and proprietors of runaway slaves may have a due knowledge where such slaves are confined, after their being apprehended and sent to any workhouse or gaol in this island, in order that such owners and proprietors may apply for such slaves; Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, all and every the keepers of the workhouses, or gaol-keepers, in any of the parishes of this island, shall, and they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to advertise in the Gazette of Saint Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingston, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the height, names, marks, and sex, and also the country, where the same can be ascertained, of each and every runaway slave then in their custody, together with the time of their being sent into custody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds for every slave so neglected by him to be advertised; and, for the expence of such advertisement, they the said workhouse-keepers or gaol-keepers shall and may, and they are hereby authorized to charge the owner or proprietor of such runaway slaves so advertised, at and after the rate of one shilling and three-pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it shall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouse or gaol-keeper

detain them until paid their fees,

to detain and keep in his or their custody such runaway slave or slaves so brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or some person on their behalf properly authorized, shall pay unto him or them what he or they so paid to the person or persons who apprehended and brought such slave or slaves into custody, with two shillings and sixpence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the cost of advertising, after the rate above-mentioned, and sixpence for every twenty-four hours such slave or slaves shall have been in custody, for maintenance, and twopence per day for medical care and extraordinary nourishment where necessary, and also the charges of advertising above directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouse-keeper, or supervisor, and no other person, shall attest, upon oath, that the charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending such slave, were actually paid to the person who brought such runaway, and that the whole of the charges in the said account are strictly conformable to this law.

attest the charges for mile-money, &c.

XL. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the keeper of every workhouse or gaol in this island shall, under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every slave confined in such workhouse or gaol, a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions daily; that is to say, not less than one quart of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and also one herring or shad, or other salted provisions equal thereto.

allow them provisions,

XLI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no gaol-keeper in this island, or any person acting under him as clerk or deputy, shall, on any pretence whatsoever, work or employ any slave or slaves sent to his custody, upon any plantation, pen, or settlement, belonging

and not hire them out.

BOOK IV.

to or in the possession of any such gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend such slave or slaves out to work for any other person or persons, during such time such slave or slaves shall be in his custody, but that all such slaves shall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or parish, in order to be inspected by any person or persons desiring the same; and in case any gaol-keeper shall offend herein, he shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.

Certain runaways, how liable to be punished.

XLII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all slaves who shall have been in this island for the space of two years, and shall run away, and continue absent for a term not exceeding six months, shall be liable to be tried by two justices; and, upon conviction thereof, such slave or slaves shall suffer such punishment as the said justices shall think proper to inflict.

Runaways absent six months. how punishable.

XLIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave shall run away from his owner or lawful possessor, and be absent for more than six months, such slave, being duly convicted thereof, shall be sentenced to be confined to hard labour for such time as the court shall determine, or be transported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

Slaves guilty of Obeah, how punishable.

XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many mischiefs that may hereafter arise from the wicked art of negroes going under the appellation of Obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil spirits, whereby the weak and superstitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilst under their protection, from any evils that might otherwise happen; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, any slave who shall pretend to any supernatural power, in order to promote the purposes of rebellion, shall, upon conviction thereof, suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to direct;

any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Slaves attempting to poison to suffer death.

XLV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cause to be given, any poison or poisonous drug, or shall actually give, or cause to be given, any such poison or poisonous drug, in the practice of Obeah or otherwise, although death may not ensue upon the taking thereof, the said slave or slaves, together with their accessaries, as well before as after the fact (being slaves), being duly convicted thereof, shall suffer death, or transportation for life, as the court shall determine; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Slaves punishable if found in possession of large quantities of fresh meat.

XLVI. And whereas great numbers of horned cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mares, mules, and asses, are frequently stolen and killed by negro and other slaves, in so secret and private a manner that it is with the greatest difficulty they can be found out and discovered, in such a manner as to convict them of such offence, although large quantities of beef, mutton, and the flesh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent such evils in future, and to punish the perpetrators of such acts, agreeably to their crimes, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall fraudulently have in his, her, or their custody or possession, unknown to his or her master, owner, overseer or other person, who shall have the overlooking or employing of such slave, any fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, such negro or other slave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magistrates, shall be whipped in such manner as such magistrates, shall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and if there shall be found in his, her, or their custody or possession, a larger or greater quantity than twenty

pounds weight of fresh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the flesh of horse, mare, mule, or ass, and such slave shall not give a satisfactory account how he or she became possessed of such meat, that then such negro or other slave, upon conviction thereof, shall suffer such punishment as the said two justices shall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or imprisonment for life.

Slaves stealing horned cattle how punished.

XLVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any negro or other slave shall, after the passing of this act, steal any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or shall kill any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, with intent to steal the whole carcase of any such horned cattle, sheep, goat, horse, mare, mule, or ass, or any part of the flesh thereof, such negro or other slave shall, on conviction thereof, suffer death, or such other punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict.

Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.

XLVIII. And whereas it is necessary to declare how, and in what manner, slaves shall be tried for the several crimes which they may hereafter commit, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, upon complaint made to any justice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houses, cane-pieces, rebellious conspiracies, compassing or imagining the death of any white person or persons, or any other offence whatsoever committed by any slave or slaves, that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death or transportation, such justice shall issue out his warrant for apprehending such offender or offenders, and for all persons to be brought before him, or any other justice of the peace, that can give evidence; and the evidence of slaves against one another, in this and all other cases, shall be received; and if, upon examination, it appears probable that the slave or slaves apprehended is or are guilty, the justice before whom such examination shall be had and taken, shall commit him, her, or them, to prison, and bind

over the witnesses to appear at a certain day, not less than ten days from the day on which the complaint shall be made, and at the place where the quarter sessions are usually held, and, where there are no quarter sessions held, at the place where the parochial business is usually transacted, and shall certify to two other justices of the peace the cause of such commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to associate themselves to him, which said justices are hereby severally required to do, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or refusal; and the said justices so associated, shall issue out their warrant to summon twelve persons, such as are usually warned and impannelled to serve on juries (the master, owner, or proprietor of the slave or slaves so complained of, or the attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper of such master, owner, or proprietor, or the person prosecuting, his or her attorney, guardian, trustee, overseer, or book-keeper, always excepted) personally to be and appear before the said justices, at the day and place aforesaid, to be expressed in such warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and where the said person so warned are hereby severally required to attend, under the penalty of five pounds; and when and where the said justices shall cause the said slave or slaves so complained of to be brought before them, and thereupon nine of the said persons so summoned as aforesaid, shall compose a jury to try the said slave or slaves, and shall by the said justices (the charge or accusation being first read) be sworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evdience; and such charge or accusation shall be deemed valid if sufficient in substance; and if the said jurors shall, upon hearing the evidence, unanimously find the said slave or slaves guilty of the offence wherewith he, she, or they stand charged, the said justices shall give sentence of death, without benefit of clergy, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour for any limited time not ex-

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ceeding two years, according to the nature of the offence, and shall cause such sentence to be carried into execution, and at such time and place as they shall think proper, women with child only excepted, whose execution shall be respited until a reasonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheless, That at every court of quarter sessions held in each and every parish or precinct within this island, the justices there assembled shall and may, after the usual business of the said court shall be done, form themselves into a court, for the purpose of inquiring into, hearing, and determining all manner of offences for which any slave or slaves are liable to be punished with death, or transportation, or confinement to hard labour, as aforesaid, and shall open the said court by proclamation, declaring the same to be a slave-court for such purpose, and shall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner, in all other respects, as the three justices associated and met as herein before mentioned are, by this act, directed to proceed in the trial of slaves for such offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouse within the said parish or precinct, of all and every slave and slaves who shall or may then be in the custody of the marshal or keeper of the workhouse, within each and every parish or precinct as aforesaid, and shall forthwith cause a jury, consisting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the pannel returned to the said court of quarter sessions, and shall cause them to be severally sworn as they shall appear, to try all and every such slave and slaves as shall be brought before them, charged with any such offences as aforesaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other cases.

Jurors to serve under penalty.

XLIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and every the jurors who shall be returned to serve as jurors at the quarter-sessions to be holden as aforesaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the said slave-court,

so to be formed and holden as aforesaid, and to serve as jurors thereon as they shall respectively be called: Provided also, that nothing in this act contained shall hinder or prevent the said justices upon any such trial, where any slave or slaves shall be condemned to die, from respiting the execution of such sentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleasure of the commander in chief shall be known, in case proper cause shall appear to them for so doing; and that if the jury upon any such trial shall apply to the said justices to suspend the execution of any sentence until the pleasure of the commander in chief is known, the said justices shall be obliged to suspend the same for thirty days, except in cases of trial of any slave or slaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which cases the said justices shall, if they think it expedient, order the sentence passed on such slave or slaves to be carried into immediate execution.

Three justices to form a court.

L. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That not less than three justices shall constitute a court for the trial of any slave or slaves for any crime or offence that shall subject such slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour as aforesaid; and that upon all such trials, no peremptory challenges of any of the said jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, shall be allowed.

How executions are performed.

LI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where the punishment of death is inflicted, the execution shall be performed in a public part of the parish and with due solemnity: and care shall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marshal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode of such execution shall be hanging by the neck, and no other; and the body shall be afterwards disposed of in such manner as the court shall direct. And provided also, that where several slaves

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shall be capitally convicted for the same offence, one only shall suffer death, except in cases of murder or rebellion.

Slaves giving false evidence how punished.

LII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in case any slave or slaves shall wilfully, and with evil intent, give false evidence in any trial had under this act, such slave or slaves being thereof convicted, shall suffer the same punishment as the person or persons on whose trial such false evidence was given would, if convicted, have been liable to suffer.

How fees of slaves discharged by proclamation are paid.

LIII. And be further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, where any slave or slaves shall be discharged by proclamation, the deputy marshal or workhouse-keeper shall be entitled to receive all such fees as shall be due to him or them for such slave or slaves at the time of such discharge, from the public, upon application and due proof made, in the most solemn manner, to the assembly, or any committee thereof, and that such slave or slaves, during the time they were in the custody of such deputy marshal or workhouse-keeper, was and were found and provided with proper and sufficient provisions equal to what is allowed by this law.

Clerk of the peace to record slave trials.

LIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That a record shall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of slaves, for any crime that shall subject any slave or slaves to suffer death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpose by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct: who is hereby obliged to attend all such trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after such trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish the sum of two pounds fifteen shillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other business incidental thereto: And further, that the

deputy-marshal for the said parish, or some proper person acting under him, shall also be obliged to attend such trial, under the same penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he shall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of such parish forty shillings, for attending at the trial and execution of such offender as shall be condemned to die, and no more.

Five days notice of trial to be given.

LV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all trials of any slave or slaves under this act, sufficient notice of such trial shall be first given to the owner, proprietor, or possessor of such slave or slaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attorneys, or other representative or representatives; any, law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Slaves executed, or transported, to be valued.

LVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and shall receive sentence of death or transportation, the court, at the time of trying such slave or slaves, shall also inquire what sum or sums of money such owner, proprietor, or employer of the said slave or slaves ought to receive for such slave or slaves, and certify the same, so that such sum or sums of money do not exceed the sum of sixty pounds for each slave sentenced as aforesaid.

Such valuation to be paid by receiver-general

LVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That in all cases where any slave or slaves shall be brought to trial, and shall be valued according to the direction of this act, such slave or slaves shall be paid for by the receiver-general of this island, out of any moneys in his hands unappropriated; and the money arising from the actual sale of such slave or slaves as shall be so transported by the deputy marshal shall be accounted for, on oath, to the churchwardens of the parish where the offence shall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receiver-general, for the use of the public.

Slaves returning from trans-

LVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority afore-

portation to suffer death

said, That if any negro or other slave, who shall be transported from this island, under the direction of this act, shall wilfully return from transportation, such negro or other slave shall, upon conviction, suffer death without benefit of clergy.

Punishment for inferior crimes.

LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, which ought to be punished in a summary manner, by order of the magistrates; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for any two justices of the peace to hear and determine, in a summary manner, all such crimes and misdemeanors, giving sufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of such slave or slaves, or his or her attorney or attorneys, or the person having the care of such slave or slaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct such punishment to be inflicted on them as such justices, in their judgment, shall think fit, not exceeding fifty lashes or six months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial shall not exceed ten shillings to the constable, and shall be paid by the master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves; and in case such master, owner, or employer of such slave or slaves shall refuse or neglect to pay such expences, it shall and may be lawful for the said justices, or either of them, to issue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and seal, directed to any constable, for levying the same on the goods and chattels of such master, owner, or employer, and to sell the same at public outcry, for the purpose of paying such expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing such warrant and sale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

Provost-marshal to deliver runaways to workhouse-keeper.

LX. And whereas great advantages have arisen to the community from the establishment of workhouses in the respective parishes in this island, for the reception of runaway and other slaves; And whereas there now are many

such slaves in the possession of the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in the workhouses in this island to great advantage; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, it shall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the respective workhouses in this island, if to them it shall seem meet, to demand and receive from the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway negroes or other slaves in his or their possession, or that may hereafter come into his or their custody or possession, upon the said governors and guardians paying unto the provost-marshal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees and other contingent charges attending the said runaway slaves during the time of their being committed to gaol, agreeably to this or any former act; and the provost-marshal and his lawful deputies shall comply with such requisitions under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Runaways to be committed to workhouse.

LXI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no runaway slave shall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magistrate of a parish where there is any workhouse established, but to such workhouse only.

Horses, &c. belonging to slaves to be taken up and sold.

LXII. And whereas the permitting and suffering negro and other slaves to keep horses, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great mischiefs to the island in general; In order, therefore, to remedy the same, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, the master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of any plantation or pen in this island, having on any such plantation or pen any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any slave or slaves, knowing the same to be such, shall cause them to be taken up, and shall produce them at the most public place in the parish where taken up, at such time

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as the justices and vestry shall, by advertisement in the public newspapers, appoint for that purpose, and that such horses, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there sold and disposed of at public outcry: and if any master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person as aforesaid, shall neglect or refuse so doing, each and every of them shall, for every neglect or refusal, respectively, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in a summary manner before any two justices of the peace for the parish or precinct where such neglect or refusal shall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses; which penalty shall be to the use of the person informing.

Penalty for permitting slaves to keep horses.

LXIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That from and after the passing of this act, no master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, in possession of any plantation, pen, or settlement, shall knowingly permit or suffer any slave or slaves to keep on such plantation, pen, or settlement, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in case of so doing, shall for every offence, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in manner aforesaid.

Oath to be made that slaves have no property.

LXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That every master, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or other person, at the respective times of their giving in an account of their slaves and stock to the justices and vestry, shall also make oath, that none of the said horses, mares, mules, or geldings, so given in, do belong to any negro or other slave; and that such person, so giving in, or his, her, or their employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their possession, to his, her, or their knowledge or belief, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to, any slave or slaves: and in case any person or persons shall neglect or refuse so to do, every person so neglecting or refusing shall, for every offence,

forfeit the sum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in the same summary manner, and to be disposed of as herein-before-mentioned.

Slaves not to purchase horses, &c.

LXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, no negro or other slave in this island shall purchase or buy any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting such horse, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be disposed of as hereinbefore mentioned: And if any person whatsoever shall sell or give any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, to any negro or other slave, or to any person in trust of such negro or other slave, every such person shall, for every such horse mare, mule or gelding, so sold or given, forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; and every person who shall purchase, or be concerned in the purchase of, any horse, mare, mule, or gelding, in trust for any negro or other slave, shall forfeit the sum of thirty pounds; which said penalties shall be recovered in the same summary manner, and disposed of as hereinbefore mentioned: any law, custom, or usage to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Penalty for concealing slaves against whom warrants are issued.

LXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, in future, whenever a warrant shall be granted by one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace against any slave, if the said slave cannot be immediately taken on the said warrant, the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such slave, shall be served with a copy of the said warrant; and if he, she, or they, do not carry the said slave before a magistrate, to be dealt with according to law on the said warrant; and if it shall be afterwards proved that the owner, possessor, attorney, guardian, or overseer, of such slave, wilfully detained or concealed the said slave, he, she, or they, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds.

LXVII. And whereas several slaves have lately found means to desert from their owners, and depart from this island, to the great damage of such owners, in evil example to other slaves, who may be thereby be induced to attempt

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or conspire to do the same: And whereas there is reason to suspect that such slaves have been aided and assisted in such escape and departure by other persons, and there is not any adequate punishment provided by law for such desertion and departure, or attempting or conspiring to desert and depart this island, or for persons aiding, assisting, or abetting, such deserters: For remedy whereof, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That, from and after the passing of this act, if any slave shall run away from his, her, or their owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, or conspire or attempt to go off, this island in any ship, boat, canoe, or other vessel or craft whatsoever, or be aiding, abetting, or assisting, to any other slave or slaves in such going off this island, he, she, or they, so running and going off, or conspiring or attempting to go off, or so aiding, assisting, or abetting, in such going off being thereof convicted, shall suffer death, or such punishment as the said court shall think proper to direct.

Slaves attempting to depart this island, how punishable.

Penalty for assisting slaves to go off the island.

LXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves in going off this island, and shall be convicted thereof, either in the supreme court or in any of the assize courts of this island, such Indian, free negro, or mulatto, shall be forthwith transported off this island by the provost-marshal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whose custody such person or persons shall be committed; and if such person or persons, so convicted, sentenced, and transported, shall afterwards be found at large in this island, he, she, or they, being so thereof convicted before the supreme court of judicature or courts of assize in this island, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.

LXIX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any white person or persons shall knowingly be aiding, assisting, or abetting, any slave or slaves, in going off this island, he, she, or they, being convicted thereof by

bill, plaint, or information, in the supreme court of judicature, or courts of assize, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds for each slave; one moiety whereof shall be to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, for and towards the support of the government of this island, and the contingent charges thereof; and the other moiety to the party or parties at whose suit or complaint such person was convicted, and shall also suffer imprisonment, at the discretion of the said court, for any space of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

Penalty on whites for aiding slaves to go off the island.

LXX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful to proceed against the person or persons so aiding, assisting, or abetting, such slave or slaves in going off this island, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not: any thing in this, or any other act, law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Persons so offending to be proceeded against.

LXXI. And whereas the overseers of estates in this island make a frequent practice of leaving the several estates under their care and management, on the respective seasons allowed for negro holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; In order, therefore, to prevent the like for the future, Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any overseer in this island shall absent himself from the estate under his care and management, on any of the particular holidays herein before mentioned to be allowed to slaves, without leave of his employer, every such overseer so offending, shall, for every offence, forfeit the sum of five pounds, to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any justice of the peace, in a summary way, in the parish where such offence shall happen; any law, custom, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Overseers not to leave estates on holidays.

LXXII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall not be lawful for any justice of the peace, sitting on the trial of any slave or slaves, or otherwise, to

Slaves not to be mutilated.

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sentence or order any slave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatsoever.

Punishment on such as escape from the workhouse.

LXXIII. And be it further enacted, That if any negro or other slave who may be sentenced to be confined in the workhouse for the term of two years or a less time, shall escape from such confinement before the expiration of his sentence, such negro or other slave, being retaken, shall, on proof of his or her identity, before two justices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be sent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty lashes.

Penalty for suffering slaves to escape.

LXXIV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the provost-marshal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful constable, or workhouse-keeper, shall willingly or negligently suffer any slave or slaves to escape, who shall be committed to his or their custody for any offence under this act, so that such slave or slaves shall not be retaken within two years, such marshal, constable, or workhouse-keeper, who shall suffer such escape, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, without injury to the right of the owner to sue for the value of the same.

Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c.

LXXV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no negro or other slave shall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horses, mares, mules, or asses, in any part of this island, with lances, guns, cutlasses, or other instruments of death, unless in the company of his or their master, overseer, or some other white person by him or them deputed, or by permission in writing; and if any negro or other slave shall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they, being thereof convicted before two justices, shall suffer such punishment as they shall think proper to inflict.

Justices to do their duty in martial law.

LXXVI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the justices aforesaid, and they are hereby required, to do their several and respective duties under this act when martial law shall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if

martial law were not subsisting; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Jurors, &c. protected.

LXXVII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all jurors serving at slave courts and every person and persons whose presence may be requisite, at the examination of any slave or slaves, or upon the trial of any slave or slaves, and who shall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and seal of any justice of the peace, and all and every slave and slaves who shall be brought as witnesses, shall be protected in their persons from all mesne or judicial process whatsoever, in their going to, attending at, and returning from, such examinations or trial, and that such slaves shall not be subject to be levied on.

How penalties shall be recovered and disposed of.

LXXVIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they shall be recovered and applied, shall, if not exceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a summary manner before any two of his Majesty's justices of the peace, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels; and, if exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in the supreme court of judicature of this island, or in either of the courts of assize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection, wager of law, or non vult ulterius prosequi, shall be entered; one moiety of which penalties shall be to the parish where the offence is committed, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who shall sue for the same.

NUMBER II.

An account of the number of ships, with their tonnage, which cleared from *Great Britain* to *Africa*, in each Year, from 1700, together with the total exports to *Africa* in each Year, during the same period: distinguishing the value of the *British*, *India*, and *Foreign Goods*; to which are added, the quantity and value of each article, from the Year 1782.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.	India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize.	TOTAL.
			L. *s.* *d.*		*L.* *s.* *d.*	*L.* *s.* *d.*
1701	104	—	83,280 14 6	—	50,673 7 5	133,954 1 11
1702	72	—	54,733 11 5	—	41,318 14 4	96,052 5 9
1703	56	—	64,155 19 5	—	40,023 14 2	104,179 13 7
1704	50	—	47,646 14 3	—	39,019 3 7	86,665 17 10
1705	45	—	31,883 7 2	—	33,221 8 11	65,104 16 1
1706	42	—	37,003 16 0	—	19,682 11 4	56,686 7 4
1707	31	—	58,531 8 6	—	33,596 7 10	92,127 16 4
1708	—	—	40,507 18 7	—	15,485 18 0	55,993 16 7
1709	38	4,430	33,539 9 1	—	25,864 3 4	59,403 12 5
1710	—	—	45,595 19 7	—	23,391 9 10	68,987 9 5
1711	—	—	37,518 7 11	—	26,758 7 3	64,276 15 2
1712	—	—	24,791 6 6	—	12,716 11 9	37,507 18 2

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize.			TOTAL.		
			L.	*s.*	*d.*		*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
1713	—	—	87,934	8	3	—	23,871	0	1	111,805	8	4
1714	—	—	34,848	15	2	—	28,568	12	0	63,417	7	2
1715	24	2,866	24,549	1	1	—	27,363	5	1	51,912	6	2
1716	32	3,532	54,337	0	10	—	43,548	11	8	97,885	12	6
1717	43	4,845	59,186	4	0	—	53,263	8	2	112,449	12	2
1718	60	6,958	46,231	5	9	—	47,028	10	9	93,313	16	6
1719	39	3,900	29,382	9	2	—	37,059	5	9	66,441	14	11
1720	65	5,764	60,928	5	7	—	69,422	9	4	130,350	14	11
1721	54	5,140	48,908	3	1	—	77,148	0	4	126,056	3	5
1722	59	6,135	70,217	7	3	—	116,338	17	2	186,556	4	5
1723	55	4,200	62,242	16	0	—	76,264	17	3	138,507	13	3
1724	74	7,450	95,266	0	11	—	121,102	1	8	216,368	2	7
1725	—	—	121,273	3	10	—	162,751	12	0	284,024	15	10
1726	—	—	65,180	0	6	—	153,524	11	9	218,704	12	3
1727	—	—	64,225	18	3	—	74,381	16	3	138,607	14	6

No. II.—*Account of Ships cleared from Great Britain to Africa, &c.*—continued.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.	India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize.	TOTAL.
			L. s. d.		*L. s. d.*	*L. s. d.*
1728	—	—	75,400 13 1	—	112,003 2 6	187,403 15 7
1729	—	—	96,895 4 11	—	156,484 17 6	253,380 2 5
1730	111	10,416	109,688 7 4	—	151,001 15 3	260,690 2 7
1731	—	—	101,076 3 2	—	105,027 1 2	206,103 4 4
1732	—	—	87,746 2 4	—	116,254 0 1	204,000 2 5
1733	—	—	50,005 17 4	—	78,781 17 5	128,787 14 9
1734	—	—	52,144 7 11	—	76,539 17 4	128,684 5 3
1735	—	—	30,721 0 1	—	99,698 4 9	130,419 4 10
1736	—	—	87,619 14 3	—	105,534 5 7	193,153 19 10
1737	109	10,560	107,872 4 3	—	126,227 19 4	234,100 3 7
1738	—	—	120,884 5 9	—	156,363 19 5	277,248 5 2
1739	—	—	87,630 6 8	—	132,243 8 4	219,873 15 0
1740	—	—	40,563 19 2	—	69,979 15 10	110,543 15 0
1741	—	—	65,708 6 10	—	66,983 2 1	132,691 8 11
1742	—	—	52,608 3 2	—	77,776 19 1	130,385 2 3

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.	India Goods.	Foreign Merchandize.	TOTAL.
			L. *s.* *d.*		*L.* *s.* *d.*	*L.* *s.* *d.*
1743	—	—	98,497 6 9	—	120,551 0 4	219,048 7 1
1744	53	4,326	37,303 18 1	—	57,789 5 0	95,093 3 1
1745	—	—	26,665 4 9	—	44,734 6 3	71,399 11 0
1746	—	—	50,289 7 3	—	67,185 0 5	117,474 7 8
1747	—	—	78,846 17 9	—	107,553 4 0	186,400 1 9
1748	—	—	107,136 13 4	—	126,534 10 3	233,671 3 7
1749	—	—	109,819 12 8	—	88,619 11 8	198,439 4 4
1750	—	—	77,561 13 6	—	83,230 0 6	160,791 14 0
1751	94	9,843	100,378 17 7	—	114,261 6 6	214,640 4 1
1752	106	11,327	147,012 10 2	—	89,054 3 2	236,026 13 4
1753	126	12,053	207,324 17 10	—	68,035 11 0	275,360 8 10
1754	124	10,352	152,922 5 11	—	82,135 7 7	235,057 13 6
1755	86	7,617	111,688 10 4	—	61,981 9 8	173,670 0 0
1756	100	8,932	127,672 10 9	—	60,910 8 9	188,582 19 6
1757	74	7,856	111,725 19 4	—	42,772 3 4	154,498 2 8
1758	103	12,217	114,193 11 11	—	53,706 4 7	167,899 16 6

No. II.—*Account of Ships cleared from Great Britain to Africa, &c.*—continued.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			TOTAL.		
			L.	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
1759	120	13,212	127,315	3	0	—			101,145	7	0	228,460	10	0
1760	138	15,647	243,542	18	9	—			102,005	1	4	345,548	0	1
1761	138	15,689	246,720	1	5	—			78,587	0	6	325,307	1	11
1762	123	14,469	209,677	9	4	—			63,450	9	3	273,127	18	7
1763	163	18,939	346,242	8	3	—			117,576	1	1	463,818	9	4
1764	163	17,802	324,820	18	3	—			140,057	15	11	464,878	14	2
1765	163	18,754	333,647	9	6	—			135,387	4	10	469,034	14	4
1766	134	15,665	364,180	6	9	—			132,609	5	3	496,789	12	0
1767	158	16,799	398,066	3	1	—			159,996	2	7	558,062	5	8
1768	134	13,471	416,297	9	11	—			196,094	19	9	612,392	9	8
1769	146	14,743	387,177	15	2	—			218,002	10	9	605,180	5	11
1770	156	16,211	347,252	14	8	—			223,750	12	1	571,003	6	9
1771	192	20,296	449,487	8	0	168,340	11	9	94,710	7	7	712,538	7	4
1772	175	19,021	564,013	14	0	187,727	15	10	114,653	1	5	866,394	11	3
1773	151	15,696	419,926	9	8	140,403	8	1	127,780	13	2	688,110	10	11
1774	167	17,218	528,333	5	0	183,095	17	8	135,096	9	9	846,525	12	5

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			TOTAL.		
			L.	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
1775	152	16,787	474,053	19	3	188,731	3	7	123,382	19	10	786,168	2	8
1776	101	12,083	300,623	16	4	96,329	13	1	73,825	11	8	470,779	1	1
1777	58	7,196	139,975	19	0	56,647	14	3	42,594	9	9	239,218	3	0
1778	41	5,316	95,690	19	8	34,154	8	8	24,240	13	6	154,086	1	10
1779	28	3,475	99,168	13	11	46,012	12	3	14,021	13	5	159,217	19	7
1780	53	7,355	121,288	1	5	56,627	17	0	17,991	15	7	195,907	14	0
1781	77	9,730	208,055	16	9	73,591	9	8	31,175	1	5	312,822	7	10
1782	69	9,311	253,250	11	8	71,254	18	0	27,229	8	9	351,734	18	5
1783	130	20,077	573,745	15	2	153,619	0	3	60,698	12	7	787,563	8	0
1784	99	14,383	360,012	12	5	122,624	7	2	41,348	16	7	523,985	16	2
1785	116	16,064	412,656	15	0	116,433	7	6	58,106	7	8	587,196	10	2
1786	146	21,483	583,052	12	7	176,076	8	5	129,609	1	10	888,738	2	10
1787	137	22,263	401,593	15	8	186,258	16	9	80,403	1	11	668,255	14	4

END OF THE APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

BOOK V.

AGRICULTURE.

CHAPTER I.

Sugar-cane.—Known to the ancients.—Conjectures concerning its introduction into Europe.—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the fifteenth century, and from thence to the West Indies.—Evidence to prove that Columbus himself carried it from the Canary Islands to Hispaniola.—Summary of P. Labat's reasoning to demonstrate that it was found growing spontaneously in the West Indies.—Both accounts reconciled.—Botanical name and description.—Soils best adapted for its cultivation, and their varieties described.—Use and advantage of the plough.—Usual method of holing and planting.—Season for planting.—Blast.—Manures.—Improvements suggested.

BOOK V.

In treating of the agriculture of the West Indian Islands, the first object that naturally excites attention is the cane, which produces

their great staple commodity, sugar; a plant which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the most valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *Saccharum*. This word was corrupted, into monkish Latin, into *Zucharum*, and afterwards into *Zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *Acucar*, from whence *Sugar*. The plant is a native of the east, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. The *sweet-cane* is mentioned twice in the Old Testament,* as an article of merchandize; and there is a passage in Dioscorides which seems to imply, that the art of granulating the juice by evaporation was practised in his time; for he describes sugar as having the appearance of salt, and of being brittle to the teeth,

Salis modo coactum est; dentibus ut sal fragile.

Lucan, enumerating the eastern auxiliaries of Pompey, describes a people who used the cane-juice as a common drink,

Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces ab arundine succos.

Lafitau conjectures, however, that the plant itself was unknown, in Christendom, until the time of the Croisades. Its cultivation, and the method of expressing and purifying the juice,

* Isaiah, ch. xliii. v. 24. Jeremiah, ch. vi. v. 20.

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as practised by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are described by *Albertus Aquensis*, a monkish writer, who observes that the Christian soldiers in the Holy Land frequently derived refreshment and support, in a scarcity of provisions, by sucking the canes.* It flourished also in the Morea, and in the Islands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was transported into Sicily; but the time is not precisely ascertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the second king of Sicily, to the monastery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding sugar-canes, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From Sicily, the Spaniards are said to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary and Cape-de-verd Islands, soon after they were discovered in the 15th century; and from some one of those islands it has been supposed to have found its way, at an early period, to Brasil and the West Indies; "producing a commerce (says Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru."

Such is the commonly-received opinion respecting the history of this valuable production. Herrera positively asserts, that the sugar-cane

* The same author, in his account of the reign of Baldwin, relates, that the Crusaders took eleven camels, laden with sugar, so that it must have been made in considerable quantities,

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was transplanted into Hispaniola from the Canary Islands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of Aguilon;* but in this instance the respectable historian, however correct in general, is clearly mistaken; it appearing by the testimony of Peter Martyr, in the third Book of his first Decad, written during Columbus's second expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the sugar-cane was, at that period, sufficiently known in Hispaniola.

The fact seems to have been, that Columbus himself carried it thither among other articles and productions which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary Islands, in his second voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—

" Ad fœtus procreandos, equas, oves, juvencas,
" et plura alia cum sui generis masculis: le-
" gumina, triticum, hordeum, et reliqua ijs si-
" milia, non solùm alimenti, verum etiam se-
" minandi gratiâ, præfectus apparat: vites et
" aliarum nostratium arborum plantaria, qui-
" bus terra illa caret ad eam important: nullas
" enim apud eas insulas notas arbores invenêre
" præter pinus palmasque et eas altissimas, ac
" miræ duritiei et proceritatis ac rectitudinis,
" propter soli ubertatem; atque etiam ignotos
" fructus alias plures procreantes. Terram

* Vol. i. p. 320.

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"aiunt esse terrarum omnium quas ambiunt "sidera, uberrimam." Although in this passage the sugar-cane is not expressly enumerated, it is evident that it was not considered by Columbus as a native of the country; for he could not possibly have been unacquainted with this production, which grew in great perfection in Valencia, and other parts of Spain; yet he found, it seems, on his arrival, no trees or plants in the newly-discovered country, of which he had any previous knowledge, excepting only the pine and the palm. That the cane was then there, appears from a subsequent passage; in which, speaking of such vegetable productions as the Spaniards had sown or planted in an inclosed garden immediately after their arrival, Martyr has these words, which, combined with the former, are, as I conceive, decisive of the question. "Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres et alia id genus, in diem sextum et trigesimum carpserunt. Sed nusquam se meliores unquam comedisse aiebant. Hæc hortensia, toto anno habent recentia. *Cannarum radices ex quarum succo saccarum extorquetur, sed non coagulatur succus, cubitales cannas intra quindecimum etiam diem emiserunt.*"

On the other hand, there are authors of great learning and industry, who maintain that the sugar-cane is a native both of the islands and the continent of America, within the tropics.

They assert, that it was found growing spontaneously in many parts of the new hemisphere, when first explored by the Spanish invaders, P. Labat, who appears to have considered the question with a laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion,* and he quotes, in support of it, among other authorities, that of Thomas Gage, an Englishman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occasion to speak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates sugar-canes among the fruits and provisions supplied the crew of his ship by the Charaibes of Guadaloupe. "Now," observes Labat, "it is a fact that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the smaller Antilles. Their ships commonly touched at those islands indeed, for wood and water, and they left swine in the view of supplying with fresh provisions such of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were absurd in the highest degree to suppose, that they would plant sugar-canes, and put hogs ashore at the same time to destroy them.

Neither had the Spaniards any motive for bestowing this plant on islands which they considered as of no kind of importance, except

* Tom. III. c. xv. p. 20.

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for the purpose that has been mentioned; and to suppose that the Charaibes might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian disposition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have surer testimony, and such as proves, beyond all contradiction, that the sugar-cane is the natural production of America. For, besides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a Treatise on American plants, printed at Mexico, asserts, that the sugar-cane grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary size, on the banks of the river Plate,* we are assured by Jean de Lery, a protestant minister, who was chaplain, in 1556, to the Dutch garrison in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himself found sugar in great abundance in many places on the banks of that river, and in situations never visited by the Portuguese. Father Hennepen, and other voyagers, bear testimony in like manner to the growth of the cane near the mouth of the Mississippi; and Jean de Laet to its spontaneous production in the Island of St. Vincent. It is not for the plant itself, therefore, but for the secret of making sugar from it, that the West Indies are indebted to the

* Piso observes, "In provincia Rio de la Plata, Cannas Sacchari sponte enasci, adolescereque in arbori proceritatem, atque chrystalla saccharea æstu solis exsudare, constat."

Spaniards and Portuguese; and these to the nations of the east."

Such is the reasoning of Labat, which the learned Lafitau has pronounced incontravertible; and it is greatly strengthened by recent discoveries; the sugar-cane having been found in many of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, by our late illustrious navigator Captain Cook.

In these accounts, however, there is no contradiction. The sugar-cane might have grown spontaneously in many parts of the New World; and Columbus, unapprized of the circumstance, might likewise have carried some of the plants to Hispaniola, and such I believe was the fact. But be this as it may, the industry with which the Spanish settlers applied themselves to its cultivation, affords a wonderful contrast to the manners of the present inhabitants; it appearing by the testimony of Oviedo, that no less than thirty *ingenios*, or sugar-mills, were established on that island so early as 1535.

The botanical name of the sugar-cane is *Arundo Saccharifera*. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, whose edges are finely and sharply serrated. The body of the cane is strong but brittle, and when ripe of a fine straw colour, inclinable to yellow; and it contains a soft pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of juice of a sweetness the

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least cloying and most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the soil; in general it is from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewise upon circumstances. In strong lands and lands richly manured, I have seen some that measured twelve feet from the stole to the upper joint. The general height however (the flag part excluded) is from three feet and a half to seven feet, and in very rich lands the stole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred suckers or shoots.*

* The tops of canes sometimes shoot up in *arrows*, decorated at the top with a pinnacle, the glumes of which contain a whitish dust, or rather seed; yet these being sowed never vegetate, as I have heard, in the West Indian islands; a circumstance which perhaps may be adduced as a proof that the cane is not the spontaneous production of this part of the world. In Abyssinia and other parts of the East it is easily raised from the seed. (*Vid. Bruce's Travels.*) Since the first edition of this work was published, Sir Joseph Banks has satisfied me that there are several varieties existing in the cane with which we are wholly unacquainted in the West Indies. I have seen, in his possession, a dried specimen that was brought originally from the South Seas, which, as far as can be judged by its present appearance, is of a far superior sort to the species cultivated in our islands. It is not only of greater length in the whole, but the distance between the joints is nearly twice as great as in the finest canes I ever beheld.

It may be supposed that a plant thus rank and succulent, requires a strong and deep soil to bring it to perfection, and as far as my observation has extended, I am of opinion that no land can be too rich for that purpose.—When bad sugar is made from fat and fertile soils, properly situated, I am inclined to impute the blame, rather to mismanagement in the manufacturer than to the land. The very best soil, however, that I have seen or heard of, for the production of sugar of the finest quality, and in the largest proportion, is the ashy loam of St. Christopher's, of which an account has been given in the history of that island. Next to that, is the soil which in Jamaica is called *brick-mould;* not as resembling a brick in colour, but as containing such a due mixture of clay and sand, as is supposed to render it well adapted for the use of the kiln. It is a deep, warm, and mellow, hazel earth, easily worked; and though its surface soon grows dry after rain, the under stratum retains a considerable degree of moisture in the dryest weather;—with this advantage too, that even in the wettest season, it seldom requires trenching. Plant-canes in this soil (which are those of the first growth) have been known in very fine seasons to yield two tons and a half of sugar *per* acre.* After this, may be reckoned the black

* This species of soil abounds very generally in the

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mould, of several varieties. The best is the deep black earth of Barbadoes, Antigua, and some other of the Windward Islands; but there is a species of this mould in Jamaica that is but little, if any thing, inferior to it, which abounds with limestone and flint, on a substratum of soapy marle. Black mould on clay is more common, but as the mould is generally shallow, and the clay stiff and retentive of water, this last sort of land requires great labour, both in ploughing and trenching, to render it profitable. Properly pulverized and manured, it becomes very productive; and may be said to be inexhaustible. It were endless to attempt a minute description of all the other soils which are found in these islands. There is however a peculiar sort of land on the north side of Jamaica, chiefly in the parish of Trelawney, that cannot be passed over unnoticed, not only on account of its scarcity, but its value; few soils producing finer sugars, or such (I have been told by sugar refiners) *as answer so well in the pan*—an expression, signifying, as I understand in a greater return of refined sugar than common. The land alluded to is generally of a red co-

French part of Hispaniola—which gives that noble island so great a superiority over most of our own sugar colonies. In Jamaica, it is confined to a few parishes only, and in those parishes to particular spots. In some places this sort of land is rather gravelly, but this circumstance, if the seasons are favourable, is of no great disadvantage.

lour; the shades of which however vary considerably, from a deep chocolate to a rich scarlet; in some places it approaches to a bright yellow, but it is every where remarkable, when first turned up, for a glossy or shining surface, and if wetted, stains the fingers like paint. I have selected specimens which are hardly distinguishable by the eye or the touch, from the substance called gamboge. Earths of various shades of red and yellow, are found indeed in many other parts of the West Indies, but in none of them are observed the same glossy appearance and cohesion as in the soil in question, which appears to me to consist of a native earth or pure loam with a mixture of clay and sand. It is easily worked, and at the same time so tenacious, that a pond dug in this soil in a proper situation, with no other bottom than its own natural texture, holds water like the stiffest clay. It is remarkable, however, that the same degree of ploughing or pulverization, which is absolutely necessary to render stiff and clayey lands productive, is here not only unnecessary, but hurtful;—for though this soil is deep, it is at the same time far from being heavy; and it is naturally dry. As therefore too much exposure to the scorching influence of a tropical sun destroys its fertility, the system of husbandry on sugar plantations, in which this soil abounds, is to depend chiefly on what are called

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ratoon canes.* Ratoons are the sprouts or suckers that spring from the roots, or stoles of the canes that have been previously cut for sugar, and are commonly ripe in twelve months.—Canes of the first growth, as hath been observed, are called plant-canes. They are the immediate produce of the original plants or germs placed in the ground, and require from fifteen to seventeen months to bring them to maturity. The first yearly return from their roots are called *first ratoons;* the second year's growth, *second ratoons;* and so on, according to their age. In most parts of the West Indies it is usual to hole and plant a certain proportion of the cane land (commonly one-third) in annual succession. This, in the common mode of holing the ground by the hoe, is frequently attended with great and excessive labour to the negroes, which is saved altogether by the system we are treating of. By the latter method, the planter, instead of stocking up his ratoons, and holing and planting the land anew, suffers the stoles to continue in the ground, and contents himself, as his cane fields become thin and impoverished, by supplying the vacant spaces with fresh plants. By these means, and the aid

* So called from being *rejettons* or sprouts, *rej'ttons, re't-tons, rattons;* or more probably from a corrupt pronunciation of the Spanish word *brotónes,* which has the same signification.

of manure, the produce of sugar *per* acre, if not apparently equal to that from the best plant-canes, in other soils, gives perhaps in the long run full as great returns to the owner; considering the relative proportion of the labour and expense attending the different systems.—The common yielding of this land, on an average, is seven hogsheads of sixteen cwt. to ten acres, which are cut annually.

In the cultivation of other lands (in Jamaica especially), the plough has been introduced of late years, and in some few cases to great advantage; but it is not every soil or situation that will admit the use of the plough; some lands being much too stony, and others too steep; and I am sorry I have occasion to remark, that a practice commonly prevails in Jamaica, on properties where this auxiliary is used, which would exhaust the finest lands in the world. It is that of ploughing, then cross ploughing, round-ridging, and harrowing the same lands from year to year, or at least every other year, without affording manure: accordingly, it is found that this method is utterly destructive of the ratoon, or second growth, and altogether ruinous. It is indeed astonishing that any planter of common reading or observation, should be passive under so pernicious a system. Some gentlemen, however, of late manage better: their practice is to break up stiff

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and clayey land, by one or two ploughings, early in the spring, and give it a summer's fallow. In the autumn following, being then mellow and more easily worked, it is holed and planted by manual labour, after the old method, which shall be presently described. But in truth, the only advantageous system of ploughing in the West Indies, is to confine it to the simple operation of *holing*, which may certainly be performed with much greater facility and dispatch by the plough than by the hoe; and the relief which, in the case of stiff and dry soils, is thus given to the negroes, exceeds all estimation, in the mind of a humane and provident owner. On this subject I speak from practical knowledge. At a plantation of my own, the greatest part of the land which is annually planted, is neatly and sufficiently laid into cane-holes, by the labour of one able man, three boys, and eight oxen, with the common single-wheeled plough. The plough-share indeed is somewhat wider than usual, but this is the only difference, and the method of ploughing is the simplest possible.—By returning the plough back along the furrow, the turf is alternately thrown to the right and to the left, forming a trench seven inches deep, about two feet and a half wide at the top, and one foot wide at the bottom. A space of eighteen or twenty inches is left between each trench, on which the mould

being thrown by the share, the banks are properly formed, and the holing is complete. Thus the land is not exhausted by being too much exposed to the sun ; and in this manner a field of twenty acres is holed with one plough, and with great ease, in thirteen days. The plants are afterwards placed in the trench as in the common method, which remains to be described.

The usual mode of holing by manual labour is this:—The quantity of land intended to be planted, being cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is divided into several plats of certain dimensions, commonly from fifteen to twenty acres each; the spaces between each plat or division are left wide enough for roads, for the conveniency of carting. Each plat is then subdivided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into small squares of about three feet and a half. Sometimes indeed the squares are a foot larger; but this circumstance makes but little difference. The negroes are then placed in a row in the first line, one negro to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes the several squares, commonly to the depth of five or six inches. The mould which is dug up being formed into a bank at the lower side, the excavation or cane-hole seldom exceeds fifteen inches in width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at the top. The negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as before. Thus

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the several squares between each line are formed into a trench of much the same dimensions with that which is made by the plough. An able negro will dig from sixty to eighty of these holes for his day's work of ten hours; but if the land has been previously ploughed and lain fallow, the same negro will dig nearly double the number in the same time.*

The cane-holes or trench being now completed, whether by the plough or by the hoe, and the cuttings selected for planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that have been ground for sugar (each cutting containing five or six germs), two of them are sufficient for a cane-hole of the dimensions described.†

* As the negroes work at this business very unequally, according to their different degrees of bodily strength, it is sometimes the practice to put two negroes to a single square; but if the land has not had the previous assistance of the plough, it commonly requires the labour of 50 or 60 able negroes for 20 days to hole 20 acres. It is reckoned a tolerable day's work for 40 negroes to hole an acre in the course of a day. In Jamaica, some gentlemen, to ease their own slaves, have this laborious part of the planting business performed by job work. The usual price for holing and planting is from eight to ten pounds currency *per* acre. The cost of falling and clearing heavy wood-land is commonly as much more.

† It is a maxim with some people to plant *thin* on poor lands, and *thick* in rich: but it is a maxim founded in error. They suppose that the richer the soil is, the greater number of plants it will maintain; which is true enough; but they

These, being placed longitudinally in the bottom of the hole, are covered with mould about two inches deep; the rest of the bank being intended for future use. In twelve or fourteen days the young sprouts begin to appear, and as soon as they rise a few inches above the ground, they are, or ought to be, carefully cleared of weeds, and furnished with an addition of mould from the banks. This is usually performed by the hand. At the end of four or five months, the banks are wholly levelled, and the spaces between the rows carefully hoe-

forget that the plant itself will, in such soils, put forth shoots in abundance; most of which, *if the lands are not over-planted*, will come to perfection; whereas from thick planting in rich mould the shoots choke and destroy each other. On the other hand, in soils where the canes will not stock (viz. put out fresh shoots) the overseer must supply the greater number of plants in the first instance, or the produce will be little or nothing. To what has been said in the text concerning the method of holing, it may not be improper to add the following particulars:—A square acre contains 43,560 feet; therefore, to know the exact number of holes which an acre will admit, the rule is, to multiply the length of each hole by the breadth, as thus: Suppose you line four feet one way, and three feet the other, then *four* multiplied by *three*, makes twelve square feet, and 43,560 divided by 12, gives 3,630 holes. These are large holes, and if the land is dry and stiff, an able negro will not be able to dig more than 60 such in his day's work. It will require, therefore, in such land, just 60 negroes to hole an acre in a day. The richer the land is, the wider you line, of course the fewer holes to an acre; four feet by four feet gives 2,722 holes.

ploughed. Frequent cleanings, while the canes are young, are indeed so essentially necessary, that no other merit in an overseer can compensate for the want of attention in this particular. A careful manager will remove, at the same time, all the lateral shoots or suckers that spring up after the canes begin to joint, as they seldom come to maturity, and draw nourishment from the original plants.

The properest season, generally speaking, for planting, is unquestionably in the interval between August and the beginning of November. By having the advantage of the autumnal seasons, the young canes become sufficiently luxuriant to shade the ground before the dry weather sets in. Thus the roots are kept cool and the earth moist. By this means too, they are ripe for the mill in the beginning of the second year, so as to enable the overseer or manager to finish his crop (except as to the few canes which are reserved to furnish cuttings or tops for planting) by the latter end of May. Canes planted in and after November lose the advantage of the autumnal rains, and it often happens that dry weather in the beginning of the ensuing year retards their vegetation, until the vernal seasons, or May rains, set in; when they sprout both at the roots and the joints; so that by the time they are cut, the field is loaded with unripe suckers, instead of

sugar-canes. A January plant, however, commonly turns out well; but canes planted very late in the spring, though they have the benefit of the May rains, seldom answer expectation; for they generally come in unseasonably, and throw the ensuing crops out of regular rotation. They are therefore frequently cut before they are ripe; or, if the autumnal seasons set in early, are cut in wet weather, which has probably occasioned them to spring afresh; in either case the effect is the same: the juice is unconcocted, and all the sap being in motion, the root is deprived of its natural nourishment, to the great injury of the ratoon. The chief objection to a fall plant is this; that the canes become rank and top heavy, at a period when violent rains and high winds are expected, and are therefore frequently lodged before they are fit to cut. The observation, when applied to canes planted in rich and new lands, is just; and on this account, some gentlemen have introduced the following system: They plant in August and September, clean the young sprouts, and give them mould occasionally, until the beginning of January, when they cut the young plants close to the ground with knives, and level the bank; spreading the remainder of the mould over the roots; which soon afterwards send out a number of vigorous and luxuriant shoots all of an equal growth. It is alleged, that by this means the cane is not

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too rank in the stormy months, and nevertheless comes to perfection in good time the succeeding spring.

On the whole, it is a striking and just remark of Colonel Martin, that there is not a greater error in the system of planting, than to make sugar or to plant canes, in improper seasons of the year; for by mismanagement of this kind every succeeding crop is put out of regular order. A plantation, he observes, ought to be considered as a well-constructed machine, compounded of various wheels turning different ways, yet all contributing to the great end proposed; but if any one part runs too fast, or too slow, in proportion to the rest, the main purpose is defeated. It is in vain, continues he, to plead in excuse the want of hands or cattle; because these wants must either be supplied, or the planter must contract his views, and proportion them to his ability; for the attempt to do more than can be attained, will lead into perpetual disorder, and terminate in poverty.

Unfortunately, however, neither prudence in the management, nor favourable soils, nor seasonable weather, will at all times exempt the planter from misfortunes. The sugar-cane is subject to a disease which no foresight can obviate, and for which human wisdom has hitherto, I fear, attempted in vain to find a remedy.—This calamity is called the *blast;* it is the *aphis*

of Linnæus, and is distinguished into two kinds, the black and the yellow: of which the latter is the most destructive. It consists of myriads of little insects, invisible to the naked eye, whose proper food is the juice of the cane; in search of which they wound the tender blades, and consequently destroy the vessels. Hence the circulation being impeded, the growth of the plant is checked, until it withers or dies in proportion to the degree of the ravage.*

Hitherto I have said nothing of a very important branch in the sugar-planting, I mean the method of manuring the lands. The necessity of giving even the best soil occasional assistance is universally admitted, and the usual way of doing it in the West Indies is now to be described.

The manure generally used is a compost formed,

1st. Of the coal and vegetable ashes, drawn from the fires of the boiling and still-houses.

2dly. Feculences discharged from the still-house, mixed up with rubbish of buildings, white-lime, &c.

* In some of the Windward Islands, the cane, in very dry weather, is liable to be destroyed also by a species of grub called the *borer*. This calamity is fortunately unknown, at least to any extent, in Jamaica; and never having seen it, I can give no certain description of it. I conceive the insect to be the *eruca minima e rubro fusca* of Sloane. In Tobago they have another destructive insect called the *Jumper Fly*.

3dly. Refuse, or field-trash, *i. e.* the decayed leaves and stems of the canes; so called in contradistinction to cane-trash, reserved for fuel, and hereafter to be described.

4thly. Dung, obtained from the horse and mule stables, and from moveable pens, or small inclosures made by posts and rails, occasionally shifted upon the lands intended to be planted, and into which the cattle are turned at night.

5thly. Good mould collected from *gullies*, and other waste places, and thrown into the cattle-*pens*.

The first, *i. e. ashes*, is commonly supposed to be a manure of itself, well adapted for cold and stiff clays; and in some parts of Jamaica, it is the practice, in the fall of the year, to carry it out unmixed in cart loads, to the land where it is intended to be used. It is left there (or in some spot adjoining), in large heaps, until the land is holed; after which a basket full, containing commonly from fifteen to twenty pounds, is thrown into each cane-hole, and mixed with the mould at the time the plants are put into the ground. It may be doubted, however, whether ashes, applied in this manner, are of much advantage: I have been told, that if the land is opened five years afterwards, they will be found undissolved.* At other times,

* On wet lands, not easily trenched, ashes may be useful in absorbing superfluous moisture, and may therefore sometimes prove a good top dressing.

wain loads of the compost, or dunghill beforementioned, are carried out and used in nearly the same manner as the ashes.

But the chief dependence of the Jamaica planter in manuring his lands, is on the moveable pens, or occasional inclosures, before described; not so much for the quantity of dung collected by means of those inclosures, as for the advantage of the urine from the cattle (the best of all manures), and the labour which is saved by this system. I believe, indeed, there are a great many overseers who give their land no aid of any kind, other than that of shifting the cattle from one pen to another, on the spot intended for planting, during three or four months before it is ploughed or holed.*

* This, however, is by no means sufficient on plantations that have been much worn and exhausted by cultivation; and perhaps there is no branch in the planting business wherein attention and systematic arrangement, as saving both time and labour, are more necessary than in collecting and preparing large quantities of dung from the sources and materials before described. In spreading the manure thus collected, the common allowance in the Windward Islands, (where this part of husbandry is best understood) is a square foot of dung to each cane-hole; so that by knowing the number of holes in an acre of land, and the number of square feet in a dung-heap, the manure may be proportioned to the ground. Nothing is more easy than to ascertain the number of square feet in a dung-heap. Multiply the length by the breadth, and the produce by the height. Thus, 30 feet, the length, multiplied by 30 feet, the breadth,

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What has hitherto been said, however, relates solely to the method of preparing lands for plant-canes. Those who trust chiefly to *ratoons*, find it as necessary to give their cane-fields attention and assistance from the time the canes are cut, as it was before they were planted. It is the advice of Colonel Martin, so soon as the canes are carried to the mill, to cut off, by a sharp hoe, all the heads of the cane-stools *three inches below the surface of the soil*, and then fill up the hole with fine mould; by which means, he thinks, that all the sprouts rising from below, will derive more nutriment, and grow more equally and vigorously than otherwise. I know not that this advice is adopted in any of the sugar islands. It is the practice, however, in many parts of Jamaica, to spread baskets full of dung round the stools, so soon after the canes have been cut as circumstances will admit, and the ground has been refreshed by rains: in dry and scorching weather it would be labour lost. The young sprouts are, at the same time, cleared of weeds; and the dung which is spread round them, being covered with cane-trash, that its virtues may not be exhaled by the sun, is found at the end of

gives 900 feet, which being again multiplied by four feet (the height) gives 3,600 feet, the full contents. This explanation is added for the use of the plain practical planter, who perhaps has had no great opportunity of studying arithmetical calculation.

three or four months, to be soaked into and incorporated with the mould. At this period the ratoons are again well cleaned, and the spaces between the ranks effectually hoe-ploughed; after which very little care is thought requisite until the canes are fit for cutting; the ancient practice of *trashing* ratoons, *i. e.* stripping them of their outward leaves, being of late very generally and justly exploded.

Such is the general system of preparing and manuring the lands in Jamaica. I have been told, that more attention is paid to this branch of husbandry, in some of the Islands to Windward; but I suspect that there is, in all of them, very great room for improvement, by means of a judicious rotation of crops, and artificial assistance. Why, for instance, are not the manures of lime and sea-sand, which abound in these islands, and have been found so exceedingly beneficial in Great Britain, brought into use? Limestone alone, even without burning, (the expence of which might perhaps be an objection) has been found to answer in cold, heavy, and moist lands; no other trouble being requisite than merely to spread it over the ground and break it into small pieces by sledge-hammers. Of this the quantities are inexhaustible. Marle, is another manure of vast and general utility in Great Britain. It enriches the poorest lands, opens the stiffest, and sweetens

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and corrects the most rank. Lands have been raised by the use of this manure, from two shillings per acre to a guinea, annual rent. Now there is no country under the sun, wherein a soft unctuous marle more abounds than in Jamaica. To the question, *why no trial has yet been made of it?* no better answer, I believe, can be given, than that the planters in general have no leisure for experiment, and that it is difficult to make agents and servants (who have every thing to risk and nothing to gain) walk out of the sure and beaten track of daily practice. Every man's experience confirms this observation.

But it is not my province to purpose systems, but to record facts;—to describe things *as they are*, rather than as I conceive *they ought to be;* and it is now time to conduct the reader from the field into the boiling-house, and convert the farmer into the manufacturer.

CHAPTER II.

Crop-time the season of health and festivity.—Mills for grinding the canes.—Of the cane-juice, and its component parts.—Process for obtaining raw or muscovado sugar.—Melasses, and its disposal.—Process of making clayed sugar.—Of rum.—Still-houses and stills.—Cisterns, and their ingredients.—Windward Island process.—Jamaica method of doubling distillation.—Due quantity of rum from a given quantity of sweets, ascertained and stated.

CHAP. II.

THE time of crop in the sugar islands, is the season of gladness and festivity to man and beast. So palatable, salutary, and nourishing is the juice of the cane, that every individual of the animal creation, drinking freely of it, derives health and vigour from its use. The meagre and sickly among the negroes exhibit a surprising alteration in a few weeks after the mill is set in action. The labouring horses, oxen, and mules, though almost constantly at work during this season, yet, being indulged with plenty of the green tops of this noble plant, and some of the scummings from the boiling-house, improve more than at any other period of the year. Even the pigs and poultry fatten on the

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refuse. In short, on a well-regulated plantation, under a humane and benevolent director, there is such an appearance during crop-time of health, plenty, and busy cheerfulness, as to soften, in a great measure, the hardships of slavery, and induce a spectator to hope, when the miseries of life are represented as insupportable, that they are sometimes exaggerated through the medium of fancy.*

* "He," says honest old Slare the physician, "that "undertakes to argue against *sweets* in general, takes "upon him a very difficult task, for nature seems to have "recommended this taste to all sorts of creatures; the "birds of the air, the beasts of the field, many reptiles "and flies, seem to be pleased and delighted with the "specific relish of all sweets, and to distaste its contrary. "Now the sugar-cane, or sugar, I hold for the top and "highest standard of vegetable sweets." Sugar is obtainable in some degree from most vegetables, and Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, among the many advantages attending the use of it in diet, enumerates the following:

"1st. Sugar affords the greatest quantity of nourishment in a given quantity of matter of any substance in nature. Used alone, it has fattened horses and cattle in St. Domingo for a period of several months, during the time that the exportation of sugar and the importation of grain were suspended, from the want of ships.

"2dly. The plentiful use of sugar in diet is one of the best preventatives that ever has been discovered of the diseases which are produced by worms. Nature seems to have implanted a love for this aliment in all children; as if it were on purpose to defend them from those diseases.

"3dly. The plague has never been known in this country

The great obstacle at this season to the progress of such of the planters as are not happily furnished with the means of grinding their canes by water, is the frequent failure or insufficiency of their mills; for though a sugar-mill, whether worked by water, wind, or cattle, is a very simple contrivance, great force is nevertheless requisite to make it overcome the resistance which it necessarily meets with. It consists prin-

where sugar composes a material part of the diet of the inhabitants."

N. B. Dr. Rush quotes this last observation from Sir John Pringle, and adds his own opinion, that the frequency of malignant fevers of all kinds has been lessened by the use of sugar.

"4thly. In disorders of the breast, sugar is the basis of many agreeable remedies; and it is useful in weaknesses and acrid defluxions upon other parts of the body. The celebrated Dr. Franklin had taken large quantities of *blackberry jam* for the pain of the stone, and found benefit from it, but discovered, at length, that the medical part of the jam resided wholly in the sugar. From half a pint of a syrup prepared by boiling brown sugar in water, and taken just before he went to bed, he declared that he often found the same relief that he did from a dose of opium.

"It has been said that sugar injures the teeth, but this opinion does not deserve a serious reflection." Amer. Philos. Trans. vol. 3.

Mr. Hughes, the historian of Barbadoes, observes, that there is a saponaceous quality in cane-juice capable of resolving viscid concretions, to which he attributes, in a great measure, the surprising quick recovery of those sickly negroes who drink freely of it.

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cipally of three upright iron-plated rollers, or cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter; and the middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between these rollers, the canes (being previously cut short, and tied into bundles) are twice compressed; for having passed through the first and second rollers, they are turned round the middle one by a circular piece of frame-work, or screen, called in Jamaica the *Dumb-returner*, and forced back through the second and third; an operation which squeezes them completely dry, and sometimes even reduces them to powder. The cane-juice is received in a leaden bed, and thence conveyed into a vessel called the Receiver. The refuse, or macerated rind of the cane, (which is called *cane-trash*, in contradistinction to field-trash, described in the preceding chapter) serves for fuel to boil the liquor.*

* Since the first edition of this work was published, I have obtained the elevation and plan of a sugar-mill (several of which have been erected within these few years in Jamaica) after a model originally designed by Edward Woollery, Esq. surveyor of the public works in that island: and I now present my readers with an engraving thereof.—The relative proportions in the size of the different rollers or cylinders, vary from Mr. Woollery's first design; but the great improvement, the addition to the middle roller of a lantern-wheel, with trundles or wallowers, was purely his own. These act as so many friction-wheels, and their utility

The juice from the mill ordinarily contains eight parts of pure water, one part of sugar, and one part made of gross oil and mucilaginous gum, with a portion of essential oil. The proportions are taken at a medium; for some juice has been so rich as to make a hogshead of sugar from thirteen hundred gallons, and some so watery as to require more than double that quantity. By a hogshead I mean sixteen hundredweight. The richer the juice is, the more free it is found from redundant oil and gum; so that an exact analysis of any one quantity of juice, would convey very little knowledge of the contents of any other quantity.*

and importance are best demonstrated by their effect. A cattle or mule-mill on the old model was thought to perform exceedingly well if it passed sufficient canes in an hour to yield from 300 to 350 gallons of juice.—The common return of a mill on Mr. Woollery's construction is from 4 to 500 gallons.—I have authority to say, that one of these mills in particular, which is worked with ten mules, produces hourly 500 gallons: at this rate, allowing four hours out of the twenty-four for loss of time, the return *per diem* is 10,000 gallons; being equal to 36 hogsheads of sugar of 16 cwt. for every week during the crop, exclusive of Sundays.—Few water-mills can exceed this. The iron-work of the mill in question, as well as of most of those which have been made on Mr. Woollery's model, was prepared at the foundry of Mr. Thomas Goulding, of the Bank Side, Southwark, to whom I owe it in justice to declare, that his work is executed with such truth and accuracy, as reflect the highest credit on his manufactory.

* A pound of sugar from a gallon of raw liquor, is

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The above component parts are natural to, and are found in, all cane-juice; besides which, the following matters are usually contained in it. Some of the bands or green tops, which serve to tie the canes in bundles, are frequently ground in, and yield a raw acid juice exceedingly disposed to ferment, and render the whole liquor sour. Some pieces of the trash or ligneous part of the cane; some dirt; and lastly, a substance of some importance, which, as it has no name, I will call *the crust*. The crust is a thin black coat of matter that surrounds the cane between the joints, beginning at each joint, and gradually growing thinner the farther from the joint upwards, till the upper part between the joints appears entirely free from it, and resumes its bright yellow colour. It is frequently thick enough to be scaled off by the point of a penknife. It is a fine black powder, that mixes with the clammy exudations perspired from the cane, and is most probably produced by *animalcula*. As the fairness of the sugar is one of the marks of its goodness, a small quantity of such a substance must considerably prejudice the commodity.

The process for obtaining the sugar is thus conducted. The juice or liquor runs from the receiver to the boiling-house, along a wooden

reckoned in Jamaica very good yielding. Sugar, chemically analysed, yields phlegm, acid, oil, and spongy glossy charcoal.

gutter lined with lead. In the boiling-house it is received (according to the modern improved system, which almost universally prevails in Jamaica) into one of the copper pans or cauldrons called clarifiers. Of these, there are commonly three; and their dimensions are generally determined by the power of supplying them with liquor. There are water-mills that will grind with great ease canes sufficient for thirty hogsheads of sugar in a week. On plantations thus happily provided, the means of quick boiling are indispensably requisite, or the cane-liquor will unavoidably become tainted before it can be exposed to the fire. The purest cane-juice will not remain twenty minutes in the receiver without fermenting.* Clarifiers, therefore, are

* As cane-juice is so very liable to ferment, it is necessary also that the canes should be ground as soon as possible after they are cut, and great care taken to throw aside those which are tainted, which may afterward be ground for the still-house.

Perhaps it is not an extravagant hope that the time will come, when the salt of the cane which we call sugar, will be made to chrystallize, by the action of fire on the juice of the cane, in as pure and transparent a form, as the salt of seawater is frequently made to do in these climates, by the action of the sun's rays. The brown colour of muscovado sugar seems to me to be derived chiefly from the effect of fire operating on the gummy parts or mucilage of the raw juice; to destroy or separate which, in the first clarifier, is the great desideratum. If this could be accomplished, the more watery particles might afterward be evaporated with-

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sometimes seen of one thousand gallons each. But as powers of the extent described are uncommon, I shall rather confine myself to such properties as fall within the reach of daily observation; to plantations, for instance, that make on a medium, during crop-time, from fifteen to twenty hogsheads of sugar a week. On such estates, three clarifiers of three or four hundred gallons each are sufficient. With pans of this size, the liquor, when clarified, may be drawn off *at once*, and there is leisure to cleanse the vessels every time they are used. Each clarifier is provided either with a syphon or cock for drawing off the liquor. It has a flat bottom, and is hung to a separate fire chimney having an iron slider, which being shut, the fire goes out for want of air. These circumstances are indispensable, and the advantages of them will presently be shewn.*

out injuring the colour of the essential salt, which would then strike into chrystals nearly transparent.

* The clarifiers are commonly placed in the middle or at one end of the boiling-house. If at one end, the boiler called the *teache* is placed at the other, and several boilers (generally three) are ranged between them. The teache is ordinarily from 70 to 100 gallons, and the boilers between the clarifiers and teache diminish in size from the first to the last. Where the clarifiers are in the middle, there is usually a set of three boilers on each side, which constitute in effect a double boiling-house. On very large estates, this arrangement is found useful and necessary. The objection to so great a number is the expence of fuel; to obviate which, in

The stream then from the receiver having filled the clarifier with the fresh liquor, and the fire being lighted, the *temper*, which is commonly Bristol white-lime in powder, is stirred into it. One great intention of this is to neutralize the superabundant acid, and which to get properly rid of, is the great difficulty in sugar-making. This is generally effected by the *alkali* or lime; part of which, at the same time, becomes the basis of the sugar. The quantity necessary for this purpose, must of course vary with the quality both of the lime and of the cane-liquor. Some planters allow a pint of Bristol lime to every hundred gallons of liquor; but this proportion I believe is generally found too large. The lime is perceptible in the sugar both to the smell and taste, precipitates in the copper pans a black insoluble calx, which scorches the bottom of the vessels, and is not detached without difficulty. I conceive, therefore, that little more than half the quantity mentioned above, is a better medium proportion, and, in order that less of it may be precipitated to the bottom, an inconveniency attending the use of dry lime, Mr. Bousie's method of dissolving it in boiling water, previous to mixing it with the cane-juice, appears to me to be highly judicious*.

some degree, the three boilers on each side of the clarifiers are commonly hung to one fire.

* This gentleman (Mr. Bousie) to whom the assembly

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As the fire increases in force, and the liquor grows hot, a scum is thrown up, which is formed of the mucilage or gummy matter of the cane, with some of the oil, and such impurities as the mucilage is capable of entangling. The heat is now suffered gradually to increase, until it rises to within a few degrees of the heat of

of Jamaica gave 1,000*l.* for his improvements in the art of sugar-boiling, in a paper distributed by him among the members, recommends the use of a vegetable *alkali*, or ashes of wood calcinated, such as pimento-tree, dumb-cane, fern-tree, cashew, or logwood, as affording a better temper than quick-lime; but he was afterwards sensible that sugar formed on the basis of fixed alkaline salts never stands the sea, unless some earth is joined with the salts. Such earth as approaches nearest to that which is the basis of alum would perhaps be most proper. As sugar, on a vegetable alkaline basis, is generally as much superior in colour, as that on lime is in grain, how far a judicious mixture of vegetable alkaline salts and lime might prove a better temper than either lime or alkaline salts alone, is an inquiry that ought to be pursued. If there were no redundant acid in cane-liquor, lime and any other *alkali* would be hurtful, as may be shewn by adding a few grains of lime or *alkali* to a clear solution of refined sugar: a precipitation will ensue. In some parts of Jamaica, where the cane-liquor was exceedingly rich, Mr. Bousie made very good sugar without a particle of temper. I have said, that too much temper is perceptible in the sugar, both to the smell and taste; it might be added, *and also to the sight*. It tinges the liquor first yellow, and if in excess turns it to a dark red. Too much temper likewise prevents the melasses from separating from the sugar when it is potted or put into the hogshead.

boiling water. The liquor must by no means be suffered to boil: it is known to be sufficiently heated when the scum begins to rise into blisters, which break into white froth, and appear in general in about forty minutes. The damper is then applied, and the fire extinguished; after which, the liquor is suffered to remain a full hour, if circumstances will admit, undisturbed; during this interval great part of the feculencies and impurities will attract each other, and rise in the scum. The liquor is now carefully drawn off, either by a syphon, which draws up a pure defecated stream through the scum, or by means of a cock at the bottom. In either case the scum sinks down unbroken as the liquor flows, its tenacity preventing any admixture. The liquor is received into gutter or channel, which conveys it to the evaporating boiler, commonly called the *grand copper*, and, if originally produced from good and untainted canes, will now appear almost, if not perfectly, transparent.*

The advantage of clarifying the liquor in this manner, instead of forcing an immediate ebullition, as practised formerly, is visible to the

* The merit of introducing into Jamaica the clarifiers at present in use, with syphons and dampers was claimed by Mr. Samuel Sainthill, and an exclusive patent, to secure his claim, was granted to him in 1778 by an act of the assembly.

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most inattentive observer. The labour which it saves in scumming is wonderful. Neither can scumming properly cleanse the subject; for when the liquor boils violently, the whole body of it circulates with such rapidity, as to carry down again the very impurities that had come up to the surface, and with a less violent heat would have staid there.

In the grand, or evaporating, copper, which should be large enough to receive the net contents of one of the clarifiers, the liquor is suffered to boil; and as the scum rises, it is continually taken off by large scummers, until the liquor grows finer and somewhat thicker. This labour is continued until, from the scumming and evaporation, the subject is sufficiently reduced in quantity to be contained in the next or second copper, into which it is then laded. The liquor is now nearly of the colour of Madeira wine. In the second copper the boiling and scumming are continued: and if the subject is not so clean as is expected, lime-water is thrown into it. This addition is intended not merely to give more temper, but also to dilute the liquor, which sometimes thickens too fast to permit the feculencies to run together and rise in the scum. Liquor is said to have a good appearance in the second copper, when the froth in boiling arises in large bubbles, and is but little discoloured. When, from such scumming and eva-

poration, the liquor is again sufficiently reduced to be contained in the third copper, it is laded into it, and so on to the last copper, which is called the *teache*. This arrangement supposes four boilers or coppers, exclusive of the three clarifiers.

In the teache the subject is still further evaporated, till it is judged sufficiently boiled to be removed from the fire. This operation is usually called *striking; i. e.* lading the liquor, now exceedingly thick, into the cooler.

The cooler, of which there are commonly six, is a shallow wooden vessel, about eleven inches deep, seven feet in length, and from five to six feet wide. A cooler of this size holds a hogshead of sugar. Here the sugar grains; *i. e.* as it cools, run into a coarse irregular mass of semiformed crystals, separating itself from the melasses. From the cooler it is carried to the curing-house, where the melasses drains from it.*

But, before we follow it into the curing-house, it may be proper to notice the rule for

* It may be proper in this place to observe, that, in order to obtain a large-grained sugar, it must be suffered to cool *slowly and gradually*. If the coolers are too shallow, the grain is injured in a surprising manner. Any person may be convinced of this, by pouring some of the hot syrup, when fit for striking, into a pewter plate. He will immediately find it will have a very small grain.

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judging when the subject is sufficiently evaporated for *striking*, or become fit for being laded from the teache to the cooler. Many of the negro boilers guess solely by the eye (which by long habit they do with great accuracy) judging by the appearance of the grain on the back of the ladle; but the practice most in use is to judge by what is called *the touch; i. e.* taking up with the thumb a small portion of the hot liquor from the ladle; and as the heat diminishes, drawing with the fore-finger the liquid into a thread. This thread will suddenly break, and shrink from the thumb to the suspended finger, in different lengths, according as the liquor is more or less boiled. The proper boiling height for strong muscovado sugar, is generally determined by a thread of a quarter of an inch long. It is evident that certainty in this experiment can be attained only by long habit, and that no verbal precepts will furnish any degree of skill in a matter depending wholly on constant practice.*

* It is probable that from this practice of trying by the *touch* (*tactio*) the vessel called the teache derives its name. A method more certain and scientific was recommended some years ago to the public, by my learned friend John Proculus Baker, Esq. Barrister at Law, in the Island of Jamaica, in a Treatise published by him, in 1775, intituled, *An Essay on the Art of making Muscovado Sugar*. It is as follows:—"Provide a small thin pane of clear crown glass, set "in a frame, which I would call *a tryer;* on this drop two or

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I now return to the curing-house, which is a large airy building, provided with a capacious melasses cistern, the sides of which are sloped and lined with terras, or boards. Over this cistern there is a frame of massy joist-work without boarding. On the joists of this frame, empty hogsheads, without headings, are ranged. In the bottoms of these hogsheads eight or ten holes are bored, through each of which the stalk of a plantain leaf is thrust, six

"three drops of the subject, one on the other, and carry your "tryer out of the boiling-house into the air. Observe your "subject, and more particularly whether it gains freely, and "whether a small edge of melasses separates at the bottom. "I am well satisfied that a little experience will enable you "to judge what appearance the whole skip will put on, "*when cold*, by this specimen, which is also *cold*. This "method is used by chemists, to try evaporated solutions of "all other salts; it may seem, therefore, somewhat strange, "it has not been long adopted in the boiling-house."—I cannot mention Mr. Baker's Treatise, without observing, that I am considerably indebted to it in the course of this chapter, having adopted (with some small variation, founded on late improvements) his account of the process of boiling sugar. But the inhabitants of the sugar islands are under still greater obligations to Mr. Baker;—for it appears to me, that the present improved system of clarifying the cane-liquor, by means of vessels hung to separate fires, and provided with dampers, to prevent ebullition, was first suggested to Mr Sainthill (who three years afterwards claimed the merit of the invention) by the treatise in question; a performance that, for useful knowledge, lucid order, and elegance, both in arrangement and composition, would have done honour to the first writer of the age.

BOOK V

or eight inches below the joists, and is long enough to stand upright above the top of the hogshead. Into these hogsheads the mass from the cooler is put, which is called *potting;* and the melasses drains through the spongy stalk, and drops into the cistern, from whence it is occasionally taken for distillation. The sugar in about three weeks grows tolerably dry and fair. It is then said to be cured, and the process is finished.*

Sugar, thus obtained, is called *muscovado,* and is the raw material from whence the British sugar-bakers chiefly make their loaf, or refined lump. There is another sort, which was formerly much approved in Great Britain for domestic purposes, and was generally known by the name of Lisbon sugar. It is fair, but of a soft texture, and in the West Indies is called *clayed* sugar; the process is conducted as follows:—

A quantity of sugar from the cooler is put into conical pots or pans, called by the French *formes,* with the points downwards, having a hole about half an inch in diameter at the bottom, for the melasses to drain through, but which at first is closed with a plug. When the sugar in these pots is cool, and become a fixed body, which is discoverable by the middle of the top falling in (generally about twelve hours

* The curing-house should be close and warm—as warmth contributes to free the sugar from the melasses.

from the first potting of the hot sugar) the plug is taken out, and the pot placed over a large jar, intended to receive the syrup or melasses that drains from it. In this state it is left as long as the melasses continues to drop, which it will do from twelve to twenty-four hours, when a stratum of clay is spread on the sugar, and moistened with water, which oozing imperceptibly through the pores of the clay, unites intimately with, and dilutes the melasses, consequently more of it comes away than from sugar cured in the hogshead, and the sugar of course becomes so much the whiter and purer. The process, according to Sloane, was first discovered in Brasil, by accident: "A hen," says he, "having her feet dirty, going over a pot "of sugar, it was found under her tread to be "whiter than elsewhere." The reason assigned why this process is not universally adopted in the British sugar islands is this, that the water which dilutes and carries away the melasses, dissolves and carries with it so much of the sugar, that the difference in quality does not pay for the difference in quantity. The French planters probably think otherwise, upwards of four hundred of the plantations of St. Domingo having the necessary apparatus for claying, and actually carrying on the system.*

* The loss in weight by claying is about *one-third*; thus a pot of 60lbs. is reduced to 40lbs. but if the melasses which

OF RUM.

Having now furnished the reader with the best account I am able to give of the art of making sugar from the cane-juice, I shall proceed to a subsequent process, to which this invaluable plant hath given birth; I mean that of extracting from it, by fermentation and distillation, one of the purest, most fragrant, and salutary spirits in the world; a process of far greater curiosity than the former, and of almost equal importance in point of value, considering that the spirit procured by its means, is obtained from the very dregs and feculencies of the plant.

The still-houses on the sugar-plantations in the British West Indies, vary greatly in point of size and expence, according to the fancy of the proprietor, or the magnitude of the property. In general, however, they are built in a substantial manner, of stone, and are commonly equal in extent to both the boiling and curing-houses together. Large stills, by which I

is drawn off in this practice be reboiled, it will give near 40 *per cent.* of sugar; so that the real loss is little more than one-sixth; but the distillery in that case will suffer for want of the melasses; and, on the whole, I believe that the usage of the English planters in shipping *muscovado* sugar, and distilling the melasses, is more generally profitable than the system of *claying*.

mean such as contain from one to three thousand gallons, have this advantage over small ones, that they are purchased at first at a less proportionate expence A still of two thousand gallons, with freight and charges, will cost but little more than one of one thousand five hundred gallons, and is besides worked with but little more fuel. But as it is not every proprietor that has the means of employing stills of that magnitude, I shall consider such as are fitting for a plantation making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen hundred weight, and proceed to describe, according to the best of my observation and experience, the mode of conducting such an apparatus on such a property, in making rum to the greatest advantage.

For a plantation of that description, I conceive that two copper stills, the one of one thousand two hundred, and the other of six hundred gallons, wine measure, with proportionate pewter worms, are sufficient. The size of the tanks (or tubs) for containing the cold water in which the worms are immersed, must depend on circumstances: if the advantage can be obtained of a running stream, the water may be kept abundantly cool in a vessel barely large enough to contain the worm. If the plantation has no other dependence than that of pond-water, a stone tank is infinitely superior to a

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tub, as being longer in heating, and if it can be made to contain from twenty to thirty thousand gallons, the worms of both the stills may be placed in the same body of water, and kept cool enough for condensing the spirit, by occasional supplies of fresh water.

For working these stills, it is necessary to provide, first, a dunder-cistern, of at least three thousand gallons; secondly, a cistern for the scummings; lastly, twelve fermenting vats or cisterns, each of them of the contents of the largest still, viz. one thousand two hundred gallons. In Jamaica, cisterns are made of plank, fixed in clay; and are universally preferred to vats, or moveable vessels, for the purpose of fermenting. They are not so easily affected by the changes of the weather, nor so liable to leak as vats, and they last much longer. But in the British distilleries, fermenting cisterns are, I believe, unknown. To complete the apparatus, it is necessary to add two or more copper pumps for conveying the liquor from the cisterns, and pumping up the dunder, and also butts, or other vessels, for securing the spirit when obtained; and it is usual to build a rum-store adjoining the still-house.

The ingredients, or materials, that set the various apparatus I have described into action, consist of,

1st. Melasses, or treacle, drained from the sugar, as already described.

2dly. Scummings of the hot cane-juice, from the boiling house, or sometimes raw-cane liquor, from canes expressed for the purpose.

3dly. Lees, or, as it is called in Jamaica, *dunder*.*

4thly. Water.

The use of dunder in the making of rum, answers the purpose of yeast in the fermentation of flour. It is the lees or feculencies of former distillations; and some few planters preserve it for use, from one crop to another; but this is a bad practice. Some fermented liquor, therefore, composed of sweets and water alone, ought to be distilled in the first instance, that fresh dunder may be obtained. It is a dissolvent menstruum, and certainly occasions the sweets with which it is combined, whether melasses or scummings, to yield a far greater proportion of spirit than can be obtained without its assistance. The water which is added, acts in some degree in the same manner by dilution.

In the Windward Islands the process, according to Colonel Martin, is conducted as follows:

Scummings, one-third.
Lees, or dunder, one-third.
Water, one-third.

* From *redundar*, Spanish—the same as *redundans* in Latin.

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When these ingredients are well mixed in the fermenting cisterns, and are pretty cool, the fermentation will rise, in twenty-four hours, to a proper height for admitting the first charge of melasses, of which six gallons* for every hundred gallons of the fermenting liquor, is the general proportion to be given at twice, viz. 3 *per cent.* at the first charge, and the other 3 *per cent.* a day or two afterwards, when the liquor is in a high state of fermentation; the heat of which, however, should not in general be suffered to exceed from ninety to ninety-four degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer.†

When the fermentation falls by easy degrees from the fifth to the seventh or eighth day,‡ so as then to grow fine, and throw up slowly a few clear beads or air globules, it is ripe for distillation; and the liquor or wash being conveyed into the largest still, which must not be filled higher than within eight or ten inches of the brim, lest the head should fly, a steady and regular fire must be kept up until it

* This quantity of melasses, added to a third of scummings, gives 11½ *per cent.* of sweets, six gallons of scummings being reckoned equal to one gallon of melasses.

† The infusion of hot water will raise, and of cold water abate the fermentation.

‡ When the liquor is first set at the beginning of the crop (the house being cold, and the cisterns not saturated) it will not be fit for distillation under ten or twelve days.

boils, after which a little fuel will serve. In about two hours the vapour or spirit being condensed by the ambient fluid, will force its way through the worm in the shape of a stream, as clear and transparent as crystal; and it is suffered to run until it is no longer inflammable.

The spirit which is thus obtained goes by the appellation of *low-wines*. To make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it undergoes a second distillation, of which I shall presently speak; but previously thereto, I shall point out some little variation between the practice of the Jamaica distillers and those of the Windward Islands, observable in the first process. This consists chiefly in a more copious use of dunder.*

* As the use of dunder is to dissolve the tenacity of the saccharine matter, it should be proportioned not only to the *quantity*, but also to the *nature* of the sweets. Thus, when the sweets in the fermenting cistern consist of melasses alone, as generally happens after the business of sugar-boiling is finished, when no scummings are to be had, a greater proportion of dunder is necessary; because melasses is a body of greater tenacity than cane-liquor, and is rendered so viscous and indurated by the action of the fire, as to be unfit for fermentation without the most powerful saline and acid stimulators. For the same reason, at the beginning of the crop, when no melasses is to be had, and the sweets consist of cane-juice or scummings alone, very little dunder is necessary. In such case I should not recommend above 20 per cent. at the utmost. Dunder, in a large quantity, certainly injures the *flavour*, although it may in-

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The following being a very general, and, I believe, an improved method, in Jamaica, of compounding the several ingredients, viz.

crease the *quantity* of the spirit. We are informed by Dr. Shaw, that the distillers in England add many things to the fermenting liquor, or wash, in order to augment the vinosity of the spirit, or give it a particular flavour. He observes, that a little tartar, nitre, or common salt, is sometimes thrown in at the beginning of the operation, or in their stead a little of the vegetable or finer mineral acid. These are thought to be of great use in the fermenting of solutions of treacle, honey, and the like sweet and rich vegetable juices, which contain a small proportion of acid. I have heard, that a similar practice prevails among the distillers in St. Christopher's; some of whom consider an addition of sea-water to the fermenting liquor (in what proportion I cannot say) as a real and great improvement. Shaw recommends the juice of Seville oranges, lemons, and tamarinds, or other very acid fruits, and, above all other things, an aqueous solution of tartar; but I conceive that dunder alone answers every purpose. He likewise recommends to the distiller to introduce into the fermenting cistern a few gallons of the rectified spirit, which he says will come back, with a large addition to the quantity of spirit that would otherwise have arisen from the distillation.—As I have tried none of these experiments, I can say nothing in their favour of my own knowledge; but I believe that a small quantity of vegetable ashes, thrown into the rum-still, will be found serviceable. The alkaline salts are supposed to attenuate the spirit, and keep back the gross and fetid oil, which the distillers call the *faints;* but if used in too great a quantity, they may keep back also a proportion of the fine essential oil, on which the flavour of the rum wholly depends. Perhaps the most important object of attention, in the making rum of a good flavour, is *cleanliness;* for all adventitious or foreign substances

Dunder one half, or		50 gallons	
Sweets 12 *per cent.*	Melasses	6 gallons	42 gallons
	Scummings	36 gallons (equal to 6 gallons more of melasses)	
Water		8 gallons	
		100 gallons.	

Of this mixture (or *wash*, as it is sometimes called) one thousand two hundred gallons ought to produce three hundred gallons of low-wines; and the still may be twice charged and drawn off in one day. The method of adding all the melasses at once, which is done soon after the fermentation commences, renders the process safe and expeditious; whereas by charging the melasses at different times, the fermentation is checked, and the process delayed.

Let us now complete the process according to the Jamaica method. The low-wines obtained as above, are drawn off into a butt or vessel, and, as opportunity serves, are conveyed into the second still of six hundred gallons, to undergo a further distillation. The steam begins to run in about one hour and a half, and will give,

destroy or change the peculiar flavour of the spirit. In truth, it should be a constant rule with the manager or distiller to see that the cisterns are scalded, and even cleansed with strong lime-water, each time they are used; not merely on account of the rum, but also because it has frequently happened that the vapour of a foul cistern has instantly killed the first person that has entered it without due precaution.

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in the course of the day, two hundred and twenty gallons, or two puncheons, of oil-proof rum, *i. e.* of spirit in which olive oil will sink; and thus the manufacture, if it may be so called, is complete. There will remain in the still a considerable quantity of weaker spirit, commonly about seventy gallons, which is returned to the low-wine butt. Thus two hundred and twenty gallons of proof rum are, in fact, made from five hundred and thirty gallons of low-wines; or about one hundred and thirteen of rum from one thousand two hundred of wash.*

By means of the apparatus and process which I have thus described, the Jamaica distiller may fill weekly, working only by day-light (a necessary precaution in this employment) and at a small expence of labour and fuel, twelve puncheons of rum, containing each one hundred and ten gallons of the Jamaica standard. The proportion of the whole rum to the crop of sugar, is commonly estimated in Jamaica as three to four. Thus a plantation of the above description is supposed to supply annually one hundred and fifty puncheons of rum

* Proof spirit of any kind weighs seven pounds twelve ounces *per* gallon. According to the English hydrostatical table, the cubic inch of proof spirit weighs 9 p. wt. 19.73 gr. troy, or 8.62 dr. avoirdupois. But it has been found that a cubic inch of good brandy is 10 grains heavier in winter than in summer, and that 32 gallons of spirits in winter will make 33 in summer.

of one hundred and ten gallons each; or eighty-two gallons of Jamaica proof to each hogshead of sugar;—and this return I do believe is sometimes fairly made from canes planted in rich and moist lands; but, on a general estimate, I think it too great an allowance, and that two hundred gallons of rum to three hogsheads of sugar, which is in the proportion of about two-thirds rum to the crop of sugar, is nearer the truth*.

* This will be better understood by attending to the following particulars:—The general supply of scummings to the still-house is seven gallons out of every 100 gallons of cane-liquor. Supposing, therefore, that 2,000 gallons of cane-juice is required for each hogshead of sugar of 16 cwt. the scummings, on a plantation making 200 hogsheads *per* ann. will be 28,000 gallons, equal to - 4,666 gallons of melasses.

Add the melasses from the curing-house, which, if the sugar is of a good quality, will seldom exceed sixty gallons per hogshead - - - -	12,000
Total of sweets -	16,666 gallons.

This, distilled at and after the rate of 12 *per cent.* sweets in the fermenting cistern, will give 34,720 gallons of low-wines, which ought to produce 14,412 gallons of good proof rum, or 131 puncheons of 110 gallons each. When a greater proportion than this is made, one or other of these circumstances must exist, either the sugar discharges an unusual quantity of melasses, or the boiling-house is defrauded of the cane-liquor by improper scumming. This latter circumstance frequently happens.

It should also be observed, that it is the practice of late,

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The reader will please to recollect, that in this, and the preceding chapter, the observations which I have made, both concerning the cultivation of the sugar-cane in the field, and the subsequent processes of the boiling-house and distillery, have been drawn chiefly from the practice of Jamaica. Some selection was necessary, and I could refer to no mode of conducting a sugar plantation with such propriety, as to that with which I am myself practically acquainted.—My next inquiries will relate to the particulars of the first cost of this species of property, to the current expences attending it, and to the returns which may be reasonably expected from a capital thus employed; and here again my estimates will refer chiefly to Jamaica. That there is a considerable variation in some of the Windward Islands, I have no doubt. In St. Christopher's, for instance, some of the lands are certainly more valuable than the very best in Jamaica; but, on the other hand, Jamaica is exempted from the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* and has other advantages, which probably make the scale even.

with many planters, to raise the proof of rum; thus gaining in strength of spirit what is lost in quantity: and there are managers who make it a rule to return the scummings to the clarifiers, instead of sending them to the still-house. This last-mentioned practice reduces the crop of rum more than one-third; but it is supposed to yield in sugar more than is lost in rum: and if the price of sugar is very high, and that of rum very low, it may be prudent to adopt this method.

CHAPTER III.

Capital necessary in the settlement or purchase of a sugar plantation of a given extent.—The lands, buildings, and stock, separately considered.—Particulars and cost.—Gross returns from the property.—Annual disbursements.—Net profits.—Various contingent charges not taken into the account.—Difference not commonly attended to, in the mode of estimating the profits of an English estate, and one in the West Indies.—Insurance of West India estates in time of war, and other occasional deductions.—The question, why the cultivation of the Sugar Islands has increased, under so many discouragements, considered and discussed.

CHAP. I.

A SUGAR plantation consists of three great parts; the Lands, the Buildings, and the Stock: but before I proceed to discriminate their relative proportions and value, it may be proper to observe, that the business of sugar planting is a sort of adventure in which the man that engages, must engage deeply.—There is no medium, and very seldom the possibility of retreat. A British country gentleman, who is content to jog on without risk on the moderate profits of his own moderate farm, will startle to hear that

it requires a capital of no less than thirty thousand pounds sterling to embark in this employment with a fair prospect of advantage. To elucidate this position, it must be understood that the annual contingencies of a small or moderate plantation, are very nearly equal to those of an estate of three times the magnitude. A property, for instance, producing annually one hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. has occasion for similar white servants, and for buildings and utensils of nearly the same extent and number, as a plantation yielding from two to three hundred such hogsheads, with rum in proportion. In speaking of capital, I mean either money, or a solid well-established credit; for there is this essential difference attending loans obtained on landed estates in Great Britain, and those which are advanced on the credit of West Indian plantations, that an English mortgage is a marketable security, which a West Indian mortgage is not. In England, if a mortgagee calls for his money, other persons are ready to advance it: now this seldom happens in regard to property in the West Indies. The credit obtained by the sugar-planter is commonly given by men in trade, on the prospect of speedy returns and considerable advantage; but as men in trade seldom find it convenient to place their money out of their reach for any length of time, the credit which

they give is oftentimes suddenly withdrawn, and the ill-fated planter compelled, on this account, to sell his property at much less than half its first cost. The credit therefore of which I speak, considered as a capital, must not only be extensive, but permanent.

Having premised thus much, the application of which will hereafter be seen, I shall employ my present inquiries in ascertaining the fair and well-established prices at which a sugar estate may at this time be purchased or created, and the profits which may honestly and reasonably be expected from a given capital so employed; founding my estimate on a plantation producing, one year with another, two hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. and one hundred and thirty puncheons of rum of one hundred and ten gallons each: an estate of less magnitude, I conceive, for the reasons before given, to be comparatively a losing concern. Afterwards I shall endeavour to account for the eagerness which has been shewn by many persons to adventure in this line of cultivation.—I begin then with the

LANDS.

On a survey of the general run of the sugar estates in Jamaica, it is found that the land in canes commonly constitutes one-third of the

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plantation;—another third is appropriated to pasturage and the cultivation of provisions, such as plantains (a hearty and wholesome food) eddoes, yams, potatoes, cassado, corn, and other vegetable esculents peculiar to the country and climate; and, which, with salted fish, supplied the negroes weekly, and small stock, as pigs and poultry, of their own raising, make their chief support, and in general it is ample. The remaining third is reserved in native woods, for the purpose of furnishing timbers for repairing the various buildings, and supplying fire-wood for the boiling and distilling-houses, in addition to the cane-trash, and for burning lime and bricks.—As therefore a plantation yielding, *on an average*, two hundred hogsheads of sugar annually, requires, as I conceive, not less than three hundred acres to be planted in canes, the whole extent of such a property must be reckoned at nine hundred acres. I am persuaded that the sugar plantations in Jamaica making those returns, commonly exceed, rather than fall short of, this estimate; not, as hath been ignorantly asserted, from a fond and avaricious propensity in the proprietors to engross more land than is necessary; but because, from the nature of the soil, and rugged surface of the country, the lands vary greatly in quality, and it is seldom that even three hundred acres of soil in con-

tiguity, fit for the production of sugar, can be procured. A purchaser therefore must take the bad with the good. Nevertheless, as it is my intention to give as precise an idea as I can of the profits to be made in the sugar-planting business, *under the most favourable circumstances*, I will allow nothing for a dead capital vested in unproductive woodland, but fix on six hundred acres, as sufficient for all the purposes that have been mentioned; appropriating one-half of the whole, instead of one-third, to the culture of the cane.

The price of woodland in Jamaica depends chiefly on its situation. In seasonable parts of the country, and in the vicinity of the sea, I conceive it would be difficult to purchase a quantity of sugar land sufficient for a good estate, unless at a very high price. On the north side, in a fertile and seasonable parish, I have lately known a tract of eight hundred acres, with a fine river running through it, sell for ten pounds currency *per* acre, but it was at the distance of ten miles from the sea; and the purchaser had a new and difficult road to make for three miles of the way. Such another territory, without the inconveniences to which this was subject, would, as lands sell in Jamaica, be well worth, and easily obtain, fourteen pounds currency, or ten pounds sterling *per* acre. Six hundred acres at this price is 8,400*l.*

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currency. The cost of clearing one-half, and planting it in canes, including four cleanings, would be 12*l.* currency *per* acre, or 3,600*l.* Clearing and planting 100 acres in provisions, would be 7*l.* an acre, or 700*l.*; the same for clearing and planting 100 acres in Guiney grass. Inclosing and fencing the whole would cost, on a moderate estimate, 700*l.* more.—Total 14,100*l.* currency, being equal to 10,071*l.* sterling.

BUILDINGS.

The buildings which will be found necessary on a plantation of the magnitude described are,

1st. A water-mill, (if water can be obtained) the cost of which, considering that a great extent of stone guttering is commonly requisite, may be stated, on a very low estimate, at 1,000*l.* sterling. In case no water-mill can be erected, I do not conceive that a single mill, whether worked by cattle, mules, or wind, is sufficient to take off the crop in due time, a most important object on which the future success of the plantation depends. I allow therefore for a windmill and one cattle-mill, or for two cattle-mills without a wind-mill, a sum equal to the cost of a water-mill, or 1,400

Jamaica Currency.

	Jamaica Currency.	CHAP. III.
2d. A boiling-house, 45 by 22 feet, to contain 3 copper clarifiers, of 350 gallons each, and 4 other pans or boilers, including the cost of the same, and other utensils -	1,000	
3d. A curing-house, adjoining to the boiling-house, calculated to hold one half the crop, with strong joists of solid timbers instead of a floor, having a terrassed or boarded platform underneath, leading to a melasses cistern, lined with terras, sufficient to contain 6,000 gallons - - - - - -	800	
4th. A distilling-house, 70 feet by 30; the distillery part to contain 2 stills of 1,200 and 600 gallons, with worms proportionate, also a stone tank or cistern, to hold 30,000 gallons of water; the fermenting part to contain two, or more, vats, or cisterns, for the dunder and skimmings; also 12 cisterns of solid plank fixed in the earth, of 1,200 gallons each, with copper pumps, and other necessary apparatus: together also with a rum store under the same roof.	1,600	
5th. A dwelling-house for the overseer - - - - - -	600	

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	Jamaica Currency.
6th. Two trash-houses, each 120 feet by 30; the foundation stone, the sides open, the roof supported by stone pillars, and covered by shingles, 300*l.* each	600
7th. A hospital for the sick negroes, containing also a room for lying-in women, a room for confining disorderly negroes, a shop for the doctor, and one or more store rooms for securing the plantation utensils and provisions	300
8th. A mule stable, for 60 mules, with a corn-loft above	150
9th. Shops for the different tradesmen, viz. carpenters, coopers, wheelwright and smith	150
10th. Sheds for the waggons, wains, carts, &c.	50
Add extra expences, such as the cost of the wains, utensils for the smith's shop, household furniture, &c. &c.	350
The total is 5,000*l.* sterling, being equal to currency	7,000

STOCK.

The stock on a plantation of the magnitude described, cannot prudently consist of less than two hundeed and fifty negroes, eighty steers, and sixty mules. It is not sufficient to object, that two hundred hogsheads of sugar have been produced by the labour of a less number of negroes than is here allowed. I am treating of an estate which produces that quantity *on a medium;* consequently, as, from droughts and unfavourable seasons, the crops will sometimes fall short of, at other times they must greatly exceed the numbers prescribed; and under these circumstances, I do not believe a plantation will easily be named that possesses (*or employs, in job work and otherwise*) a less number of negroes annually. If such an estate there is, I hesitate not to pronounce that it is in improvident hands; for what management can be worse than that which, by overworking the negroes, sacrifices the capital for the sake of a temporary augmented income?—The cost of the stock, therefore, may be stated as follows:

	Jamaica Currency.
250 Negroes, at 70*l.* each - -	17,500
80 Steers, at 15*l.* - - - -	1,200
60 Mules, at 28*l.* - - - -	1,680
Total in currency (equal to 14,557*l.* sterling) - -	£. 20,380

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Let us now bring the whole into one point of view.

	Jamaica Currency.
LANDS, - - - - -	14,100
BUILDINGS, - - - -	7,000
STOCK, - - - - -	20,380
Total in currency -	41,480

Which is only *520l.* short of 42,000*l.* Jamaica currency, or 30,000*l.* sterling, the sum first mentioned; and I am further of opinion, that if the owner of such a property were to sell it by appraisement, the valuation would amount to nearly the sum expended. It would therefore be more adviseable, undoubtedly, to purchase a plantation ready settled, rather than attempt to create a new one from uncleared lands; inasmuch as the labour and risk for the undertaking would be thereby avoided;—but, however this may be, it must be considered as a fixed and well-established fact, that a sugar plantation of the extent and returns which have been supposed, whether acquired by purchase, or by the risk and labour of clearing the lands, will unavoidably cost (the necessary buildings and stock included) 30,000*l.* sterling, before any adequate interest can be received from the capital.

The produce of such a plantation has been stated at 200 hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. and 130 puncheons of rum, of 110 gallons, *communibus annis;* the value of which, according to the average prices at the London market for ten years previous to 1791, may be reckoned as follows:

	Sterling.
200 Hogsheads of sugar, at 15*l.* sterling *per* hogshead - -	3,000
130 Puncheons of rum, at 10*l.* sterling *per* puncheon - - -	1,300
Gross returns - - -	£. 4,300

But the reader is not to imagine that all this, or even the sugar alone, is so much clear profit. The annual disbursements are first to be deducted, and very heavy they are; nor is any opinion more erroneous than that which supposes they are provided for by the rum. If such indeed were the fact, the capital would yield precisely an annual interest of ten *per cent.:* but a reference to the several items, which I have particularized in a note,* will demonstrate the

* ANNUAL SUPPLIES
from Great Britain and Ireland.

1st. *NEGRO CLOTHING;* viz.

1,500 Yards of Osnaburgh cloth or German linen.
650 Yards of blue bays, or pennistones, for a warm frock for each negro.

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fallacy of this too common mode of calculation. They amount, at a very moderate estimate, (including freight, charges, and merchants commissions, and adding a proportional part of the cost of many expensive articles, such

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350 Yards of striped linseys for the women.
250 Yards of coarse check for shirts for the boilers, tradesmen, domestics, and children.
3 Dozen of coarse blankets for lying-in women, and sick negroes.
18 Dozen of coarse hats.

2d. *TOOLS.*

For the carpenters and coopers to the amount of 25*l.* sterling, including 2 or 3 dozen of falling axes.

3d. *MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.*

160,000 Nails of different sizes.
2,500 Puncheon rivets.
6 Cattle chains.
6 Dozen of hoes.
6 Dozen of bills.
20 Dozen of small clasp knives for the negroes.
4 Dozen of ox bows.
50 Bundles of iron hoops.
2 Sets of puncheon truss hoops.
2 Sets of hogshead ditto.
80 Gallons of train oil for lamps.
2 Barrels of tar.
2 Boxes of short tobacco pipes for the negroes.
180 Bundles of wood hoops.
2 Sheets of lead.
6 Large copper ladles } for the boilers.
6 Ditto skimmers }

as coppers, stills, wain-tyre, grating-bars, &c. which would perhaps be wanted once in five years) to the sum of 850*l.* sterling. To this sum are to be added the following very heavy

Charges within the Island; viz.

	Currency.
Overseer's or manager's salary -	200
Distiller's ditto - - - -	70
Two other white servants, 60*l.* each -	120
A white carpenter's wages - -	100
Maintenance of five white servants, exclusive of their allowance of salted provisions, 40*l.* each - - -	200
Medical care of the negroes (at 6*s.* *per annum* for each negro) and *extra* cases, which are paid for separately - - - - -	100

8 Dozen of small iron pots for the negroes.
2 Puncheons of Bristol lime for temper.
4 Grindstones.

PROVISIONS, &c. chiefly from Ireland.

80 Barrels of herrings, or salted cod equal thereto.
6 Barrels of salted beef.
2 Barrels of salted pork.
4 Firkins of salted butter.
2 Boxes of soap.
2 Boxes of candles.
2 Hogsheads of salt.
6 Barrels of flour.
6 Kegs of pease.
3 Jugs of groats.

	Currency.
Millwright's, coppersmith's, plumber's and smith's bills, annually - -	250
Colonial taxes, public and parochial -	200
Annual supply of mules and steers -	300
Wharfage and storeage of goods landed and shipped - - - -	100
American staves and heading, for hogsheads and puncheons - -	150
A variety of small occasional supplies of different kinds supposed - -	50
Equal to 1,300*l.* sterling; being in currency - - - -	£. 1,840

The total amount, therefore, of the annual contingent charges of all kinds, is 2,150*l.* sterling, which is precisely one-half the gross returns, leaving the other moiety, or 2,150*l.* sterling, and no more, clear profit to the planter, being seven *per cent.* on his capital, and 50*l.* over, without charging, however, a shilling for making good the decrease of the negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, and supposing too, that the proprietor resides on the spot; for if he is absent, he is subject, in Jamaica, to an annual tax of 6*l. per cent.* on the gross value of his sugar and rum, for legal commissions to his agent. With these and other drawbacks (to say nothing of the devastations which are sometimes

occasioned by fires and hurricanes, destroying in a few hours the labour of years) it is not wonderful that the profits should frequently dwindle to nothing; or rather that a sugar estate, with all its boasted advantages, should sometimes prove a mill-stone about the neck of its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to destruction!*

Admitting even that his prudence, or good fortune, may be such as to exempt him from most of the losses and calamities that have been enumerated, it must nevertheless be remembered, that the sugar-planter is at once both landlord and tenant on his property. In contrasting the profits of a West Indian plantation with those of a landed estate in Great Britain, this circumstance is commonly overlooked; yet nothing is more certain than that an English proprietor, in stating the income which he receives from his capital, includes not in his estimate the profits made by his tenants. These constitute a distinct object, and are usually reckoned equal to the clear annual rent which is paid to the proprietor. Thus a farm in England, producing an income of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* to the owner, is in fact proportionably equal to a sugar plantation yielding

* In Jamaica, the usual mode of calculating, in a general way, the average profits of a sugar estate, is to allow 10*l.* sterling *per annum* for every negro, young and old, employed in this line of cultivation.

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double the profit to the planter; and possesses besides all that stability, certainty and security, the want of which is the great drawback on the latter. An English gentleman, when either extreme of dry or wet weather injures the crop on his lands, has no other concern in the calamity than such as the mere feelings of humanity may dictate. Nor is he under the disagreeable necessity in time of war, of paying large premiums for insuring his estate from capture by a foreign enemy. This is another tax, which the unfortunate West Indian, resident in Great Britain, must add to his expenses; or submit to the disagreeable alternative of passing many an uneasy day and sleepless night, in dreadful anxiety for the fate of his possessions, and the future subsistence of his family;—harassed, perhaps, at the same time, by creditors whose importunity increases as their security becomes endangered.

But there is a question, naturally arising from the premises, to which it is proper that I should, in this place, give an answer; and it is this: Seeing that a capital is wanted which few men can command, and considering withal, that the returns are in general but small, and at best uncertain, how has it happened that the sugar islands have been rapidly settled, and many a great estate purchased in the mother-country, from the profits that have accrued

from their cultivation? It were to be wished that those who make such inquiries would inquire, on the other hand, how many unhappy persons have been totally and irretrievably ruined, by adventuring in the cultivation of these islands, without possessing any adequate means to support them in such great undertakings? On the failure of some of these unfortunate men, vast estates have indeed been raised by persons who have had money at command: men there are who, reflecting on the advantages to be derived from this circumstance, behold a sugar planter struggling in distress, with the same emotions as are felt by the Cornish peasants in contemplating a shipwreck on the coast, and hasten with equal rapaciousness to participate in the spoil. Like them too, they sometimes hold out false lights to lead the unwary adventurer to destruction; more especially if he has any thing considerable of his own to set out with. Money is advanced, and encouragement given, to a certain point; but a skilful practitioner well knows where to stop; he is aware what very large sums must be expended in the purchase of the freehold, and in the first operations of clearing and planting the lands, and erecting the buildings, before any return can be made. One-third of the money thus expended, he has perhaps furnished; but the time soon

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arrives when a further advance is requisite to give life and activity to the system, by the addition of the negroes and the stock. Now then is the moment for oppression, aided by the letter of the law, and the process of office, to reap a golden harvest. If the property answers expectation, and the lands promise great returns, the sagacious creditor, instead of giving further aid, or leaving his too confident debtor to make the best of his way by his own exertions, pleads a sudden and unexpected emergency; and insists on immediate re-payment of the sum already lent. The law, on this occasion, is far from being chargeable with delay; and avarice is inexorable. A sale is hurried on, and no bidders appear but the creditor himself. Ready money is required in payment, and every one sees that a further sum will be wanting to make the estate productive. Few therefore have the means, who have even the wish, efficaciously to assist the devoted victim. Thus, the creditor gets the estate at his own price, commonly for his first advance, while the miserable debtor has reason to thank his stars if, consoling himself with only the loss of his own original capital, and his labour for a series of years, he escapes a prison for life.

That this is no creation of the fancy, nor even an exaggerated picture, the records of the courts

of law, in all or most of our islands (Jamaica especially) and the recollection of every inhabitant, furnish incontestable proof. At the same time it cannot justly be denied that there are creditors, especially among the British merchants, of a different character from those that have been described, who having advanced their money to resident planters, not in the view of deriving undue advantages from their labours and necessities, but solely on the fair and honourable ground of reciprocal benefit, have been compelled, much against their inclination, to become planters themselves; being obliged to receive unprofitable West Indian estates in payment, or lose their money altogether. I have known plantations transferred in this manner, which are a burthen instead of a benefit to the holder; and are kept up solely in the hope that favourable crops, and an advance in the prices of West Indian produce, may, some time or other, invite purchasers. Thus oppression in one class of creditors, and gross injustice towards another, contribute equally to keep up cultivation in a country, where, if the risks and losses are great, the gains are sometimes commensurate; for sugar estates there are, undoubtedly, from which, instead of the returns that I have estimated as the average interest on the capital, double that profit has been obtained. It is indeed true that such instances are

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extremely rare; but perhaps to that very circumstance, which to a philosopher, speculating in his closet, would seem sufficient to deter a wise man from adventuring in this line of cultivation, it is chiefly owing that so much money has been expended in it: I mean the fluctuating nature of its returns. The quality of sugar varies occasionally to so great degree as to create a difference in its marketable value of upwards of ten shillings sterling in the hundredweight, the whole of which is clear profit, the duties and charges being precisely the same on Muscovado sugar, of whatever quality. Thus fine sugar has been known to yield a clear profit to the planter of no less than 1,500*l.* sterling on 200 hogsheads of the usual magnitude, beyond what the same number, where the commodity is inferior in quality, would have obtained at the same market. To aver that this difference is imputable wholly to soil and seasons in the West Indies, or to the state of the British market, is to contradict common observation and experience. Much, undoubtedly, depends on skill in the manufacture; and, the process being apparently simple, the beholder (from a propensity naturally to the busy and inquisitive part of mankind) feels an almost irresistible propensity to engage in it. In this therefore, as in all other enterprises, whose success depends in any degree on human sagacity and prudence,

though perhaps not more than one man in fifty comes away fortunate, every sanguine adventurer takes for granted that he shall be that *one*. Thus his system of life becomes a course of experiments, and, if ruin should be the consequence of his rashness, he imputes his misfortunes to any cause, rather than to his own want of capacity or foresight.

That the reasons thus given, are the only ones that can be adduced in answer to the question that has been stated, I presume not to affirm. Other causes, of more powerful efficacy, may perhaps be assigned by men of wider views and better information. The facts however which I have detailed, are too striking and notorious to be controverted or concealed.

Having now, I believe, sufficiently treated of the growth, cultivation, and manufacture of sugar, &c. and pointed out with a minuteness (tedious perhaps, but) suited, as I conceive, to the importance of the subject, the first cost, and current contingencies attending the establishment and profitable maintenance of a sugar plantation, together with the risk and gains eventually arising from this species of property, I shall proceed, in the following chapter, to furnish my readers with such information as I have been able to collect concerning the minor staples, especially those important ones of cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, pimento, and ginger,

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which, with sugar and rum, principally constitute the bulky freight that gives employment to an extent of shipping, nearly equal to the whole commercial tonnage of England at the beginning of the present century.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities; viz. COTTON, *its growth and various species.—Mode of cultivation, and risks attending it.—Import of this article into Great Britain, and profits accruing from the manufactures produced by it.*—INDIGO, *its cultivation and manufacture.—Opulence of the first Indigo planters in Jamaica, and reflections concerning the decline of this branch of cultivation in that island.*—COFFEE, *whether that of the West Indies is equal to the* Mocha?—*Situation and soil.—Exorbitant duty to which it was subject in Great Britain.—Approved method of cultivating the plant and curing the berry.—Estimate of the annual expences and returns of a Coffee plantation.*—CACAO GINGER, ARNOTTO, ALOES, *and* PIMENTO; *brief account of each.*

COTTON.

CHAP. IV.

THAT beautiful vegetable wool, or substance called cotton, is the spontaneous production of three parts of the earth. It is found growing naturally in all the tropical regions of Asia, Africa, and America; and may justly be comprehended among the most valuable gifts of a bountiful Creator, superintending and providing for the necessities of man.

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The cotton-wool, which is manufactured into cloth (for there is a species in the West Indies, called silk or wild cotton, unfit for the loom) consists of two distinct kinds, known to the planters by the names of GREEN-SEED COTTON, and SHRUB COTTON; and these again have subordinate marks of difference, with which the cultivator ought to be well acquainted if he means to apply his labours to the greatest advantage.

GREEN-SEED cotton is of two species; of one of which the wool is so firmly attached to the seed, that no method has hitherto been found of separating them, except by the hand; an operation so tedious and troublesome, that the value of the commodity is not proportionate to the pains that are requisite in preparing it for market. This sort therefore is at present cultivated principally for supplying wick for the lamps that are used in sugar-boiling, and for domestic purposes; but the staple being exceedingly good, and its colour perfectly white, it would doubtless be a valuable acquisition to the muslin manufactory, could means be found of detaching it easily from the seed.

The other sort has larger seeds, of a duller green than the former, and the wool is not of equal fineness, though much finer than the cotton-wool in general cultivation; and it is easily separated from the seed by the common

method, hereafter to be described. I have been told that this species of the green-seed cotton is not sufficiently known to the planters in general, (being usually confounded with the former) or that probably it would be in high estimation.

Both the species above-mentioned, though they produce pods at an early stage, when they are mere shrubs, will, if suffered to spread, grow into trees of considerable magnitude, and yield annual crops, according to the season, without any kind of cultivation. The blossoms put forth in succession from October to January, and the pods begin to open fit for gathering from February to June. I come now to the

Shrub Cotton, properly so called. The shrub itself very nearly resembles an European Corinth bush, and may be subdivided into several varieties, all of which however very nearly resemble each other.* These varieties (such

* The flowers are composed of five large yellow leaves, each stained at the bottom with a purple spot. They are beautiful, but devoid of fragrance. The pistil is strong and large, surrounded at and near the top with a yellow farinaceous dust, which, when ripe, falls into the matrix of the pistil. This is likewise surrounded, when the petals of the flowers drop, with a capsular pod, supported by three triangular green leaves deeply jagged at their ends. The inclosed pod opens, when ripe, into three or four partitions, discovering the cotton in as many white locks as there are partitions in the pod. In these locks are interspersed the seeds, which are commonly small and black.

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of them at least as have come to my knowledge) are,

1st, The *Common Jamaica;* the seeds of which are oblong, perfectly smooth, and have no beard at the smaller end. The staple is coarse, but strong. Its greatest defect is, that the seeds are so brittle it is scarce possible to render it perfectly clean; on which account it is the lowest priced cotton at the British market. Such however is the obstinacy of habit, that few of the British cotton planters give themselves the trouble to select a better sort, or seem indeed to wish for it.

2d, *Brown Bearded.*—This is generally cultivated with the species last mentioned, but the staple is somewhat finer, and the pods, though fewer in number, produce a greater quantity of wool. The shrub gives likewise a better ratoon. It is therefore the interest of the cotton planter to cultivate it separately. The only disadvantage attending it is, that it is not so easily detached from the seed as the other, and therefore a negro will clear a few pounds less in his day's work.

3d, *Nankeen.*—This differs but little in the seeds or otherwise from the species last mentioned, except in the colour of the wool, which is that of the cloth called *Nankeen.* It is not so much in demand as the white.

4th, *French* or *Small-seed,* with a whitish

beard. This is the cotton in general cultivation in Hispaniola. Its staple is finer, and its produce equal to either of the three species last mentioned, as the shrub is supposed to bear a greater number of pods than the Jamaica, or the Brown Bearded, but is less hardy than either.

5th, *Kidney Cotton*, so called from the seeds being conglomerated or adhering firmly to each other in the pod. In all the other sorts they are separated. It is likewise called *Chain* Cotton, and, I believe, is the true Cotton of Brasil.—The staple is good, the pod large, and the produce considerable. A single negro may clear with ease sixty-five pounds in a day, besides which, it leaves the seeds behind unbroken, and comes perfectly clean from the rollers. It is therefore improvident, in the highest degree, to mix this species with any other.

On the whole, the most profitable sorts for general cultivation seem to be, the second of the Green-seed, the French or Small-seed, and the Brasilian. The mode of culture is the same with all the different species, and there is this advantage attending them all, that they will flourish in the driest and most rocky soils, *provided such lands have not been exhausted by former cultivation.* Dryness, both in respect of the soil and atmosphere, is indeed essentially necessary in all its stages; for if the land is moist, the plant expends itself in branches and leaves,

and if the rains are heavy, either when the plant is in blossom, or when the pods are beginning to unfold, the crop is lost. Perhaps, however, these observations apply more immediately to the French cotton than to any other.

The plant is raised from the seed, the land requiring no other preparation than to be cleared of its native incumbrances; and the season for putting the seed into the ground is from May to September, both months inclusive. This is usually done in ranks or rows, leaving a space between each, of six or eight feet, the holes in each row being commonly four feet apart.—It is the practice to put eight or ten of the seeds into each hole, because some of them are commonly devoured by a grub or worm, and others rot in the ground. The young sprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight, but they are of slow growth for the first six weeks, at which period it is necessary to clean the ground and draw the supernumerary plants, leaving two or three only of the strongest in each hole. One plant alone would be sufficient to leave, if there was any certainty of its coming to maturity; but many of the tender sprouts are devoured by the grub. At the age of three or four months, the plants are cleaned a second time; and both the stem and branches pruned, or, as it is called, *topp'd;* an inch (or more if the plants are

luxuriant) being broke off from the end of each shoot; which is done in order to make the stems throw out a greater number of lateral branches. This operation, if the growth be over-luxuriant, is sometimes performed a second, and even a third time. At the end of five months, the plant begins to blossom and put forth its beautiful yellow flowers, and in two months more the pod is formed. From the seventh to the tenth month the pods ripen in succession; when they burst open in three partitions, displaying their white and glossy down to the sight. The wool is now gathered, the seed being enveloped in it; from which it is afterwards extricated by a machine resembling a turner's lathe. It is called a *gin*, and is composed of two small rollers placed close and parallel to each other in a frame, and turned in opposite directions by different wheels, which are moved by the foot.* The cotton being put by the hand to these rollers as they move round, readily passes between them, leaving the seeds which are too large for the interspace behind. The wool is afterwards hand-picked, that it may be properly cleared of decayed leaves, broken seeds, and wool which has been stained and damaged in the pod.* It

* It is a very slight and simple instrument, and costs only from two to three guineas.

† The cotton manufactory of England, since the year

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is then packed into bags of about two hundred pounds weight, and sent to market.

The finest grained and most perfectly cleaned cotton, which is brought to the English market, is, I believe, that of the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demarara, and Surinam, and of the island of Cayenne; but before the year 1780 England had no fine manufactories. In the latter end of that year, however, cotton wool of all kinds found a ready sale at the following prices:

	s.	*d.*	
Berbice	2	1	*per* lb.
Demarara	1	11	to 2*s.* 1*d.*
Surinam	2	—	
Cayenne	2	—	
St. Domingo	1	10	
Tobago	1	9	
Jamaica	1	7	

Since that time the prices have indeed varied, but the relative value has continued nearly the same; that is, the difference of price between the cotton of Berbice and that of Jamaica has been from 25 to 30 *per cent.* in favour of the former; a circumstance which alone should

1780, hath made a rapid improvement, owing to the large spinning machines which are worked by water. These require the cleanest cotton, as the smallest particle of a broken seed breaks the thread in this mode of spinning.

convince the most bigoted planter of the British West Indies that, if he wishes to turn his labours to account, the choice of a better species of cotton, at least of a sort more easily cleaned than that in general cultivation, is indispensably requisite.

I shall now bring into one point of view the several particulars attending the first cost and settlement of a plantation in this sort of husbandry, and the returns which may reasonably be expected from a small capital thus employed. I fix on a small capital; because I conceive that a cotton plantation may be established on a more moderate fund than any other; and it is for the interest of the community that men of small fortunes should be instructed how to employ their time and labours to the best advantage, since it is to such men chiefly that the West Indies are to look for safety in the hour of danger.

It is presumed that land proper for the growth of cotton, situated near the sea, may be purchased, in many parts of the West Indies (Jamaica especially), at *5l.* Jamaica currency *per* acre; and as it is prudent, in most cases, to change the soil after the third crop, by replanting fresh land,* I will allot fifty acres

* If the land is extraordinary good, four and even five annual crops are sometimes gathered from the same original plants; after which, instead of replanting, it is not un-

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for the first purchase, in order that the planter may have room for that purpose. Supposing therefore that one half only is planted in cotton at the same time, the capital will be invested as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Cost of fifty acres of land, at 5*l.* currency *per* acre - -	250	0	0
Expence of cleaning, fencing, and planting 25 acres, at 7*l.* *per* acre - - - -	175	0	0
Purchase of twelve negroes, at 70*l.* each - - - -	840	0	0
	1,265	0	0
One year's interest, at 6 *per cent.*	75	18	0
One year's maintenance, cloathing, and medical care of the negroes - - - - -	120	0	0
Total expenditure in Jamaica currency (equal to 1,040*l.* sterl.)	1,460	18	0

common to cut the cotton bushes down to within three or four inches of the ground, and mould the stems in the May rains, and treat them afterwards in the same manner as plants. Some labour is undoubtedly saved by this practice, but, in nine cases out of ten, it will be found more profitable to resort to fresh land, every third or fourth year. I consider, at the same time, land to be fresh enough which has lain fallow, or been used in a different line of culture for three or four years together, the great intention of changing the land being to get rid of that peculiar sort of grub or worm which preys on the cotton-plants.

The returns are now to be considered:— In Jamaica it is commonly reckoned that one acre of cotton will yield annually 150 pounds weight, and in some years nearly twice as much; but I am afraid that, on an average of any considerable number of successive crops, even the former is too great an allowance. By accounts which I have procured from the Bahama islands, it appears, that in 1785, 1786, and 1787, (all which years were considered as favourable), the produce of the cotton-lands, on an average, did not exceed one hundred and twelve pounds *per* acre; viz.

In 1785 — 2,476 1786 — 3,050 1787 — 4,500	acres produced	2,480 3,000 4,380	cwt. of cotton.

The price in the Bahamas and Jamaica was the same, viz. 1*s.* 3*d.* sterling *per* pound.— Allowing therefore the average produce *per* acre to be one hundredweight, the returns are these; viz.

	Sterling.
25 cwt at 1*s.* 3*d.* sterling *per* pound	£. 175
Deduct incidental expences, as materials for bagging, colonial taxes, &c.*	25
Remains in sterling money - -	150

* The maintenance, &c. of the negroes, after the first year, is not charged, because it is conceived, that the land in cotton not being sufficient to find them in full employ-

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Which gives an interest of upwards of fourteen *per cent.* on the capital; arising too from the lowest-priced cotton. If the same calculation be applied to cotton-wool, of two shillings *per* pound value (the present price of the cotton-wool of St. Domingo), the profit on the capital is twenty-four *per cent.*

From this display, the rapid progress which the Dutch and French planters have made in the culture of this commodity, cannot be thought extraordinary; but there remain some circumstances, of a less favourable nature, to be taken into the account. Of all the productions to which labour is applied, the cotton-plant is perhaps the most precarious. In its first stage, it is attacked by the grub; it is devoured by caterpillars in the second, it is sometimes withered by the blast; and rains frequently destroy it both in the blossom and the pod. The Bahama islands afforded a melancholy instance of the uncertainty of this production in 1788: no less than 280 tons, on a moderate estimate, having been devoured by the worm, between September and March in that year. After this the reader will hardly suspect me of having rated the average pro-

ment, they may raise corn and other articles on the remaining twenty-five acres, more than sufficient to pay for their clothing and support. It is usual even to raise corn, potatoes, &c. between the ranks of the cotton bushes.

duce of this plant, for a series of years, too low.*

With every disadvantage, however, the demand for cotton-wool, for the British manufactories, increases with such rapidity, that it cannot be doubted the cultivation of it, with the cautions recommended, will be found highly profitable: the British dominions not supplying, at present, much more than one-fourth part of the home demand. If, after a careful selection and trials of the different species of the seeds already in our possession, the cotton-wool of the British West Indies shall still be found inferior to that of the Dutch, no difficulty can occur in obtaining from them a better sort. It is evident that the French cotton loses its superiority in our islands, by being sown promiscuously with an inferior species.

I shall conclude the subject, with presenting to my readers the following tables, drawn from authentic sources; which cannot fail to furnish abundant encouragement for speculation and adventure.

* It has been suggested, that the ravages of the worm or grub might be prevented *by raising the plant from slips or layers.*

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An Account of foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, in British Ships.

Years.	lbs.
1784	1,135,750
1785	1,398,500
1786	1,346,386
1787	1,158,000

An Account of foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, under the Free-port Act.

Years.	lbs.
1784	2,169,000
1785	1,573,280
1786	1,962,500
1787	1,943,000

An Account of Cotton-wool, British and Foreign, imported from the British West Indies into Great Britain.

Years.	lbs.
1784	6,893,959
1785	8,204,611
1786	7,830,734
1787	9,396,921

An Account of Cotton-wool imported into Great Britain, from all Parts.

Years.	lbs.	Supposed Value in Manufactures.
1784	11,380,338	£ 3,950,000 sterling.
1785	17,992,888	6,000,000
1786	19,151,867	6,500,000
1787	22,600,000*	7,500,000

Machinery established in Great Britain (1787) *for the Cotton Manufactory.*

143 Water Mills, which cost	£715,000
20,500 Hand-mills, or jennies, for spinning the shute, for the twisted yarn spun by the water-mills, (including buildings and auxiliary machinery)	285,000
Total	£ 1,000,000

* Of the following growths: viz.

British sugar islands	6,600,000
French and Spanish settlements	6,000,000
Dutch settlements	1,700,000
Portuguese settlements	2,500,000
East Indies	100,000
Smyrna or Turkey	5,700,000
	22,600,000

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The water-mills work 286,000 spindles, and the jennies 1,665,100—Total of spindles, 1,951,100.—And it has been asserted, that a pound of raw cotton-wool from Demarara, has been spun into 336 hanks, each hank being 840 yards; so that the thread would have extended 169 miles.

On the whole, it is computed that not less than three hundred and fifty thousand people in Great Britain find full employment in the cotton manufactory. In point of importance, therefore, even the produce and manufacture of the great staple commodity of this kingdom, *wool*, does not exceed it in a two-fold proportion. According to the information of a very able and diligent inquirer, there are from ten to twelve million of sheep in England. The value of their wool may, one year with another, amount to 3,000,000*l.*; the expense of manufacturing this is probably 9,000,000*l.*, and the total value 12,000,000*l.*

INDIGO.

The plant which yields the valuable commodity called Indigo (probably so named from India, where it was first known to be munufac-

tured)* grows spontaneously in all the West Indies. In the British Sugar Islands, they reckon three distinct species: the Wild, Guatimala, and French. The first is said to be the hardiest, and the dye extracted from it is supposed to be of the best quality, both in colour and closeness of grain; but one of the other two species is commonly preferred by the planter, as yielding a greater return; and of those, the French surpasses the Guatimala in quantity, but yields to it in fineness of grain and beauty of colour.†

That the richest soil produces the most luxuriant plant, and that good seasons accelerate its growth, cannot, I think, be doubted; but, observing its long tap-root, and spontaneous growth, in almost every dry and barren savannah, I am convinced it will thrive on soils that

* L'Abbé Raynal by a gross mistake asserts, that the plant itself was originally carried into the West Indies from the East. It was found growing spontaneously in all parts of St. Domingo, by Columbus himself, on the first discovery of the West Indies; and was indigenous also in Mexico, and other parts of the continent, as appears from the testimony of Pet. Martyr and all the early Spanish writers, not one of whom does it seem that L'Abbé Raynal ever read.

† The *wild* indigo *(indigofera argentea)* has short crooked pods and black seeds: the *Guatimala* is distinguished by the redness of the stalk, and the colour of the seeds, which is green. This is the *indigofera disperma* of Linnæus. The *French* is a short bushy plant, with roundish leaves. It has long crooked pods, and its seeds are yellow. The French call it *Indigo franc.* It is the *indigofera tinctoria* of Linnæus.

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are fit for nothing else. The longest dry weather will not totally kill it; though much water will have that effect, if suffered to remain long on the plant.

The cultivation and manufacture are conducted in the following manner:

The land being properly cleared of weeds, &c. is hoed into small trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches asunder; in the bottom of which the seeds are strewed by the hand, and covered lightly with mould; but as the plants shoot, the field must be frequently weeded and kept constantly clean, until they rise and spread sufficiently to cover the ground. A bushel of seed is sufficient for four or five acres of land.

In the West Indies, the best season for planting is supposed to be the month of March, but the plant will flourish at any other period; and if sown in new land, will come to full blossom (and it is then in perfection) in about three calender months. In the southern provinces of America, the season for planting depends greatly on the nature of the spring, which varies much in those countries. If the plants appear above ground by the first day of March, they will be fit for cutting about the twentieth of August; and are sometimes equal to the best in the West Indies.

There is this difference, however, between the two countries; that in the West Indies, in

seasonable situations, they have sometimes four cuttings in the year from the same roots, whereas in North America they have never more than two, and not often more than one. The plant is a child of the sun, and can be cultivated, I doubt, with great advantage, no where but within the tropics.*

But that sun which thus improves and invigorates the plant, propagates at the same time an insect destructive to it. This is a species of grub or worm, which becomes a fly, and preys on the leaves, and never fails, in the West Indies, to disappoint the planter's expectations the second year upon the same land: the only remedy is *to change the soil every year.* The want of due attention to this important circumstance, has probably been one of the causes that so many persons have failed of late years in their attempts to revive the culture of this valuable commodity.

If this destructive plant be happily prevented, or greatly mitigated, the produce *per* acre of the first cutting, will be about eighty pounds weight of what the French call *pigeon's-neck;* or about sixty pounds of a quality equal to the Guatimala. The produce in North America is sometimes nearly as much; but when Fah-

* The ratoons or subsequent growths from the same plants, ripen in six or eight weeks; but the produce diminishes fast after the second cutting, so that it is absolutely necessary to sow the seeds anew every year.

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renheit's thermometer falls to 60°, the returns there are very uncertain, both in quality and quantity; a greater heat being absolutely necessary both for vegetation and maceration. The yielding for the subsequent cuttings somewhat diminishes; but in Jamaica and St. Domingo, if the land is new, about 300 lbs. *per* acre of the second quality, may be expected annually, from all the cuttings together, and four negroes are sufficient to carry on the cultivation of five acres, besides doing other occasional work, sufficient to reimburse the expenses of their maintenance and clothing.

The process for obtaining the dye is generally conducted in two cisterns, which are placed like two steps, the one ascending to the other. The highest (which is also the longest) is called the *steeper;* and its dimensions are about sixteen feet square, and two feet and a half in depth. There is an aperture near the bottom for discharging the fluid into the second, which is called the *battery*, and is commonly about twelve feet square, and four and a half in depth. Cisterns of these dimensions are proper for about seven acres of the plant: but if stone work cannot easily be erected for want of materials, vats of strong timber, well secured from leakage, will answer as well.*

* There is also required a lime-vat, six by eight feet square, and four feet deep; and it may be proper to observe that the tap or plug hole ought to be placed at least eight

The plants are cut with reap-hooks or sickles, a few inches above the root,* and placed by *strata* in the steeper, until it is about three parts full. They are then strongly pressed down by boards or planks, which are wedged or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and as much water is admitted as the weed will imbibe, until it is covered four or five inches deep, and in this state is left to ferment, until the pulp is extracted: but the utmost attention and nice management are now required; for, if the fluid is drawn off too soon, much of the pulp is left behind: and if the fermentation is too long continued, the tender tops of the weeds occasion putrefaction, by which all the dye is destroyed.

To obtain a certain knowledge therefore of

inches from the bottom, to leave sufficient room for the lime to subside, before the lime-water is drawn off into the battery.

* Some persons are of opinion that the plants should not be cut nearer the ground than six inches, and that a few branches should be left on the stem.—This practice they say, will draw up the sap better, and produce a more luxuriant ratoon than when a naked stalk only is left. During the first cutting it is usual to leave some of the most flourishing stalks for seed, which ought not to be gathered uutil it is well hardened in the pod.—It generally requires ten bushels of the pod to produce a single bushel of clean dry seed fit for sowing. It may also be observed, that many indigo planters have a notion that the plant yields the greatest quantity of the dye, when cut at the full of the moon.—Of this fact I can assert nothing of my own knowledge.

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the proper degree of fermentation, has hitherto been the grand *desideratum* of the cultivator. Repeated experiments for this purpose, were made some years ago in the island of Hispaniola, under the sanction and encouragement of the Chamber of Agriculture, and instructions (which were said to be practised with great success by Messrs. Dangdale and Mongon, indigo planters in that island) were published by authority, to this effect:

"After the Indigo has been steeped in the cistern eight or nine hours, draw off a little of the water, and with a pen dipped into it, make a few strokes upon white paper. The first will probably be high-coloured, in which case the indigo is not sufficiently fermented; this operation is to be repeated every quarter of an hour, until it loses its colour; when it is arrived at the true point of fermentation."

It is astonishing that an experiment so simple in itself, if it answers, should have been for so many years unknown to the indigo planters in general; and I confess, that, although I have had no opportunity of giving it a trial, I am myself somewhat doubtful of its efficacy. The following method, which I give on the authority of Mr. Lediard, is, I conceive, attended with much greater certainty:

"Let a small hole be made in the steeper, six or eight inches from the bottom, exclusive of the opening or aperture for drawing off the

impregnated water; let this hole likewise be stopped with a plug, yet not so firmly but that a small stream may be permitted to ooze through it. After the plants have been steeped some hours, the fluid oozing out will appear beautifully green, and at the lower edge of the cistern, from whence it drops into the battery, it will turn of a copperish colour. This copperish hue, as the fermentation continues, will gradually ascend upwards to the plug, and when that circumstance is perceived, it is proper to stop the fermentation.

"During the progress of this part of the business, particular attention should be paid to the smell of the liquor which weeps from the aperture; for should it discover any sourness, it will be necessary to let the fermented liquor run immediately into the battery, and lime-water of sufficient strength must be added to it, until it has lost its sourness. As it is running off, it will appear green, mixed with a bright yellow, or straw colour, but in the battery it will be of a most beautiful green."

The tincture being thus discharged into the battery, it is there churned or agitated, until the dye begins to granulate, or float in little flakes on the water. This was formerly done in Jamaica with manual labour, by means of paddles, and, in the French islands, by buckets or cylinders fixed to long poles; but far more

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convenient machines are now constructed, in which the levers are worked by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horse or mule. When the fluid has, by such means, been well churned for the space of fifteen or twenty minutes, and, being tried in a cup or plate, appears curdled or coagulated, a strong impregnation of lime-water is gradually added, not only to promote a separation, but likewise to fix the colour and preserve it from putrefaction. But the planters (as Brown observes) "must carefully distinguish the different stages of this part of the operation also, and attentively examine the appearance and colour as the work advances, for the grain passes gradually from a greenish to a fine purple, which is the proper colour when the liquor is sufficiently worked; too small a degree of agitation leaving the indigo green and coarse; while too vigorous an action brings it to be almost black."

The liquor being properly and sufficiently worked, and the pulp granulated, it is left undisturbed until the flakes or *floculæ* settle at the bottom, when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the indigo distributed into small linen bags to drain, after which it is carefully put into little square boxes or moulds, and suffered to dry gradually in the shade; and this finishes the manufacture.*

* The following observations of Dr. Roxburgh of Bengal,

To what has been said above of the nature of the plant, suiting itself to every soil, and producing four cuttings in the year, if we add the cheapness of the buildings, apparatus, and labour, and the great value of the commodity, there will seem but little cause for wonder at the splendid accounts which are transmitted down to us concerning the great opulence of the first Indigo planters. Allowing the produce of an acre to be 300 lbs. and the produce no more than 4*s*. sterling *per* pound, the gross

concerning the first process, seem to have been made with great accuracy: "When the Indigo plant is committed to cold water in the steeping vat, the following appearances take place: in a few hours a slight motion begins to shew itself throughout the body of liquor—the bulk increases considerably, with some additional heat; air bubbles are generated, some of which remain on the surface, and gradually collect into patches of froth—a thin violet or copper-coloured pellicle or cream makes its appearance between the patches of froth, and soon after, the thin film which forms the covering of the bubbles composing the froth begins to be deeply tinged with a fine blue: the liquor from the beginning will have been acquiring a green colour, and now it will appear, when viewed falling from one vessel to another, of a bright yellowish green, and will readily pass the closest filtre until the action of the air makes it turbid, a proof that the base of the colour is now perfectly dissolved in the watery menstruum. This is the time for letting off the vat—the fermentation however continues, and large quantities of froth are formed. The smell now becomes very offensive," &c. &c.

Bancroft on Permanent Colours, Appendix 432.

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profits of twenty acres will be 1,200*l.*, produced by the labour of only sixteen negroes, and on a capital in land and buildings, scarce deserving consideration.

Such, without doubt, will be the reader's first reflections. Unhappily, however, the golden hopes which speculations like these have raised in the minds of thousands, have vanished on actual experiment, like the visions of the morning. I think I have myself, in the course of eighteen years residence in the West Indies, known at least twenty persons commence Indigo planters, not one of whom has left a trace by which I can now point out where his plantation was situated, except perhaps the remains of a ruined cistern covered by weeds, and defiled by reptiles. Many of them too were men of knowledge, foresight, and property. That they failed is certain, but of the causes of their failure, I confess I can give no satisfactory account. I was told that disappointment trod close at their heels at every step. At one time the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too soon. Now the pulp was not duly granulated, and now it was worked too much. To these inconveniences, for which practice would doubtless have found a remedy, were added others of a much greater magnitude: the mortality

of the negroes from the vapour of the fermented liquor, (an alarming circumstance, that, as I am informed both by the French and English planters, constantly attends the process), the failure of the seasons, and the ravages of the worm.—These, or some of these evils, drove them at length to other pursuits, where industry might find a surer recompence.

Their history, however, furnishes a new illustration to a very trite but important remark, that a manufacture once destroyed, scarce ever takes root again in the same country. Of the causes from which the general culture and manufacture of Indigo was relinquished in Jamaica, enough has been said by other writers: yet the same arguments which induced the British Government to burthen this commodity with duties under which it sunk, are still urged in the case of other colonial products, and will continue to be urged, until the same fate attends many of them as attended Indigo. Of the monstrous folly and impolicy of loading with high duties an article so essentially necessary to the British woollen manufactory, (putting colonial considerations out of the question) the Mother Country is, I believe, at length sufficiently convinced; the quantity of Indigo annually imported into Great Britain from all parts of the world, being, I believe, one million and a half of pounds, of which five

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parts in seven are purchased with ready money of strangers and rivals.*

* Soon after the second edition of this work was printed, my learned friend, Dr. Edward Bancroft, F. R. S. favoured the public with his "Experimental Researches concerning "the Philosophy of Permanent Colours," a work of infinite research and merit; in an Appendix, to which he gives an abstract of a botanical description, by Dr. Roxburgh of Bengal, of a new species of *nerium* (rose bay) found in the East Indies, the leaves of which yield excellent indigo. This account however is chiefly interesting to the planters of the West Indies, as containing some experiments and opinions which lead to an improved method of extracting the common indigo *by means of a boiling process*; for it being found that the leaves of the *nerium* would not yield their colour except to boiling water, it was judged by analogy that the scalding process might be advantageously applied also to the common indigo plant, and the result has exceeded expectation: "By "the scalding process (observes Dr. Roxburgh) I have al- "ways, on a small scale, made from the common indigo "plant, better indigo than I could by fermentation, and in "one fourth of the time; and what is also of great import- "ance, without the smallest degree of the pernicious effluvia "which attend the manufacture of indigo by fermentation, "and moreover, the twigs and leaves themselves of the in- "digo plant burn fiercely, after having been well dried, "and will carry on the operation without requiring any "great addition of other fuel."

In another place Dr. Roxburgh observes, "that the Hin- "doos throughout the northern provinces or circars make "*all* their indigo by means of hot water, and precipitate "with a cold infusion of the bark of the *jambalong* tree, "yet notwithstanding the inferiority of this bark as an "astringent, when its effects are compared with those of lime- "water, I have always found their indigo to be of a very "excellent quality, and very light; a cubic inch weighing

COFFEE.

So many treatises have been written on the history of coffee; its introduction into the West Indies has been so fully traced by some writers, and its properties so ably investigated by others, (above all, by my learned friend Dr. Benjamin Moseley) as hardly to leave me the possibility of offering any thing new on those subjects. The few observations therefore which I shall present to my readers concerning this berry, will relate principally to its culture; and these being chiefly founded on actual experience, may perhaps afford some useful information.

" only about 110 grains, and being of a blue violet colour. " The superior quality of this indigo must alone be imputed " to the nature of this process by which the colour, or ra- " ther base of the colour, is extracted from the plant; for " their apparatus is very inconvenient."

" Besides the superior quality of the indigo obtained by " the scalding process, the quantity is generally increased " by it; moreover the health of the labourer in this way is " not endangered, as in the fementing process, by con- " stant and copious exhalations of putrid miasma: the heat " employed expels most of the fixed air during the scald- " ing, which renders a very small degree of agitation, and " very little of the precipitant necessary. The operation can " also be performed two or three times a day upon a large " scale; and lastly, the indigo itself dries quickly without " acquiring any bad smell, or putrid unwholesome tenden- " cy."—Surely these observations deserve the most serious attention of the planters in the British West Indies!

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The admirers of coffee have long lamented the inferiority of the West Indian to that of Mocha. That many of the complaints with which the public are amused on this subject, arise from affectation, I have not a doubt. At the same time, it must be admitted that the charge is not entirely without foundation, inasmuch as the West Indian coffee is frequently drank within twelve months after it has been gathered from the tree; and that the flavour improves by age, there is not a coffee planter in the West Indies so bigoted to his own possessions, as wholly to deny.

But the notion that the coffee itself is naturally inferior to that of the East, as being the production of a coarser and less valuable species of the tree, needs no other refutation than the circumstance related by the celebrated gardener, Mr. Miller, "that from plants brought from "the West Indies, and raised in English hot-"houses, coffee berries have been produced, "which, at a proper age, were found to surpass "the very best Mocha that could be procured "in Great Britain." It is evident therefore that the whole difference depends on the soil and climate, mode of curing, and age.

It appears, on the authority of Le Roque and other writers, that the Arabian coffee is produced in a very dry climate; and flourishes most on a sandy soil, or on mountainous slopes,

which give an easy conveyance to the rains. The propriety of choosing similar situations in the West Indies (if a small berry, best suited for the English market, is expected) is justified by the experience of every coffee planter.

A rich deep soil, frequently meliorated by showers, will produce a luxuriant tree, and a great crop; but the beans, which are large, and of a dingy green, prove, for many years, rank and vapid. It is singular, however, that the North Americans prefer this sort to any other, and, as they have hitherto been the best customers at the West Indian markets, the planters naturally enough have applied their labours to that cultivation which turned to the best account.

Happily for the coffee planters of the British West Indies, the English market, by a prudent concession of government in 1783, was rendered more open to them. Before that period, the duties and excise on the importation and consumption of British plantation coffee in Great Britain were no less than 480 *per cent.* on its then marketable value. Under such exactions, its cultivation in our sugar islands must (but for the American market) have shared the same fate as that of indigo. The great and important reduction of one shilling a pound from the excise duties, created an immediate and wonderful change; and while it promoted the inte-

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est of the planter, it even augmented the revenue of the state; more than double the quantity of coffee having been brought to entry in 1784 than was entered in the year preceding; increasing the sum total of the duties (though reduced two-thirds) from 2,869*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.* to 7,200*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.*; an important proof, among others, how frequently heavy taxation defeats its own purpose!

As the British demand has thus increased, so, on the other hand, the American has declined, having, as I conceive, been transferred in a great measure to the foreign islands. It is now therefore become the interest of the planter to change his system, by suiting the nature of his commodity to the taste of his new customers.

This, it is true, is not within the power of every man, whose plantation is already settled, to accomplish; but assuredly it is a very important object to such persons as may have it in contemplation to adventure in this line of cultivation (in a country where every species of soil, and choice of situation, may be found) to know beforehand how to employ their money and labour to the greatest advantage.

Coffee indeed will thrive in every soil in the West Indies; a cold stiff clay, and a shallow mould on a hot marle, excepted. In both which, the leaves turn yellow, and the trees perish, or roduce nothing; but the best and highest-

flavoured fruit is unquestionably the growth of either a warm gravelly mould, a sandy loam, or the dry red hills which are found in almost every island of the West Indies, Jamaica especially. Frequent showers of rain, however, are friendly to its growth, but if water remains long about the roots, the tree will decay and perish.

If the land be fresh and naturally good, coffee plants may be set out at all seasons of the year, even in dry weather, and they will thrive in any situation, provided it be screened from the north winds, which often destroy the blossom; and sometimes, in the after part of the year when those winds prevail most, entirely strip the tree of both fruit and leaves; blasting in a moment all the hopes of the planter.

The usual mode of planting is, to line out the land into squares of eight feet; in other words, to sow the seeds, or set out the young plants, eight feet distant from each other on all sides, which gives six hundred and eighty trees to each acre; and, where young plants are easily procured, they are preferred to berries. The plants which are intended to be set out are generally selected of about two feet in height. They are cut off ten inches above the surface of the ground, and care is taken to dig them up with the roots as entire as possible. The holes in which they are set, are made large

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enough to hold the lower part of the stem and all the roots; and the upper fibres are buried about two inches under the surface. But, although eight feet be the usual distance of setting out the plants in all soils, it is frequently found, in rich lands, that the trees, as they grow to maturity, become, from their luxuriance, so closely intermingled together, as to impede the free passage of the air: in such cases it is thought adviseable to cut down every second row, within ten or twelve inches of the ground, and by well moulding the stumps, they will furnish a succession of healthy young trees, while the rows which are left will bear much better for the room which is given them. Old plantations (or *walks* as they are called) cut down in this manner, not dug up and replanted, will give a tolerable crop the second year; and the operation may be frequently repeated.

In the cultivation of a young walk, the general and most approved system is to keep the trees perfectly clear of suckers, and to rear one stem only from one root. If, therefore, a healthy shoot springs near the ground, all the original plant is cut off close above it, by which means, when the plant is moulded, the root, becomes well covered. At the height of five or six feet, which the plants generally attain the third year, the trees are topped. At this height, a single

stem gives from thirty-six to forty-two bearing branches, and the pruning required annually, is to leave nothing but those branches.

From what has been said concerning the effect of a difference of seasons, it must be difficult to fix on the average produce of a coffee plantation by the acre. In rich and spongy soils a single tree has been known to yield from six to eight pounds of coffee: I mean when pulped and dried. In a different situation, a pound and a quarter from each tree, on an average, is great yielding; but then the coffee is infinitely better in point of flavour. The following is, I believe, on a medium, as accurate a calculation as the subject will admit. Coffee trees raised from old trees, in lands neither very poor nor very rich, bear the second year from the new growth 300 pounds weight *per* acre, 500 pounds the third year, and from 6 to 700 pounds the fourth. If the trees are raised from young plants, no produce is to be expected until the third year from the planting; when they will yield very little; the fourth year, about 700 pounds. The average annual produce *per* acre after that period, if the walk is properly attended to, may be reckoned at 750 pounds: and one negro is well able to take proper care of an acre and a half.

We are now come to the most important business of the coffee planter, *i. e.* the gathering

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in his crop, and the mode of curing it for market. The practice in Arabia, according to Le Roque, is as follows:——"When the planters perceive that the fruit is come to maturity, they spread cloths under the trees, which they shake from time to time, and the ripe fruit drops off. The berries thus collected are afterwards spread upon mats, and exposed to the sun with the pulp on the berries, until they are perfectly dry, which requires a considerable time; after which, the beans are extricated from their outward incumbrance by the pressure of a large and heavy stone roller, when they are again dried in the sun; for the planters consider, that, unless coffee be thoroughly dry, there is danger of its heating. It is then winnowed with a large fan, and packed for sale."

It cannot be denied that this simple method must be infinitely superior to any other for preserving the genuine flavour of the berry; but it may well be doubted whether the additional price which the planter might obtain at the British market for coffee thus gathered and prepared, would be adequate to the value of the time and labour which so tedious a method would necessarily require. The usual practice in the British West Indies is as follows:

As soon as the berries acquire the colour of a black red on the trees, they are supposed to be sufficiently ripe for picking. The negroes em-

ployed in this business are provided each with a canvas bag, with a hoop in the mouth to keep it open. It is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it occasionally into a basket, and if he be industrious, he may pick three bushels in the day. But it is not very provident to urge him on too fast, as probably a great deal of unripe fruit will in that case be mixed with the ripe. The usual practice is to pick the trees at three different stages of ripeness. One hundred bushels in the pulp, fresh from the tree, will give about one thousand pounds weight of merchantable coffee.

There are two methods in use of curing or drying the bean: the one is, to spread the fresh coffee in the sun, in layers about five inches deep, on a sloping terras, or platform of boards; *with the pulp on the berry*, which in a few days ferments and discharges itself in a strong acidulous moisture, and in this state the coffee is left, until it is perfectly dry, which, if the weather is favourable, it will be in about three weeks. The husks are afterwards separated from the seeds by a grinding mill hereafter to be described, or frequently by pounding them with pestles in troughs or large wooden mortars. Coffee thus cured, weighs four *per cent.* heavier than if cured without the pulp.

The other mode is to *remove the pulp* immediately as it comes from the tree. This is done

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by means of a pulping mill, consisting of a horizontal fluted roller, about eighteen inches long, and eight inches in diameter. This roller is turned by a crank or handle, and acts against a moveable breast-board, which being fitted close to the grooves of the roller, prevents the berries from passing whole. The mill is fed by a sloping trough, and the aperture of the trough, from which the berries drop into the mill, is regulated by a vertical sliding board. By this simple machine a negro will pulp a bushel in a minute. The pulp, and the bean (in its parchment skin) fall promiscuously together. The whole is then washed in wire sieves, to separate the pulp from the seeds, and these are immediately spread open to the sun to dry.

There prevails great difference of opinion among the coffee planters on the subject of these two different methods of curing raw coffee. The latter is perhaps the most profitable, as being more expeditious; but I have no doubt that the former would give the best flavoured coffee, provided the fermentation, which always takes place when the raw fruit is placed in heaps on the platform, could be prevented, which might easily be done at the expense of a little more room. The blue dingy green, which to the American is the test of good coffee, is considered by the London dealer as a proof that it has not been sufficiently cured. From both

methods, however, the coffee may prove very good with the powerful assistance of its great improver, age.

Hitherto, I have described the pulping mill only. There yet remains the operation of grinding off the parchment skin, or membrane which immediately envelopes the bean, and is left after the pulp is removed. It is done by a machine which will also separate, at the same time, the dried pulp (if the former mode of curing has been adopted) much more expeditiously than the pestle and mortar.

The grinding mill consists of a perpendicular axis, surrounded at some distance by a circular trough, into which the coffee is thrown, and about a foot above the level of the surface of the trough, there are commonly four horizontal arms or sweeps, tenanted into the axis, and stretching some feet beyond the trough, and on them are four rollers, fitted to run in the trough on the arms being turned round with the axis, which is done by mules yoked to the extremity. The rollers, which are generally of considerable weight, moving round in the trough, bruise the skins of the coffee, so as to render them separable by the fan, though there is always a proportion left untouched. When it appears sufficiently bruised, it is taken out of the trough and put to the fan, which clears the coffee from the chaff, and the seeds remaining unground are

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separated by sieves and returned to the mill; which will clear 1,500 pounds of coffee in a day.

There is still another mode of curing coffee, both with and without the pulp, and that is by means of stoves. But it is practised by very few planters; it requiring an expensive apparatus in the first place, and in the second it is said that the smoke of the fire gives a disagreeable smell and taste to the berry. I know not if this assertion be true: it is certain, however, that nothing imbibes the smell or taste of any thing near it sooner than coffee.

For the same reason it is a matter of great consequence that proper care should be taken, in shipping it for Europe, that it be not put into parts of the ship where it may receive the effluvia of other freight. "Coffee berries (says Dr. Moseley) are remarkably disposed to imbibe exhalations from other bodies, and thereby acquire an adventitious and disagreeable flavour. Rum, placed near to coffee, will in a short time so impregnate the berries, as to injure the taste in a high degree; and it is related by Mr. Miller, that a few bags of pepper on board a ship from India, some years since, spoiled a whole cargo of coffee."

The few preceding observations are all that occur to me concerning the mode of cultivating, and preparing for market, this far-famed berry.

I shall conclude the subject by offering a short estimate of the expenses and returns attending its culture, which I conceive tends more to the encouragement of industry, and of course to the increase of white population in the West Indian islands, than that of any other of their staple commodities: its produce being more equal and certain than that of any plant in cultivation, and its average profits more considerable in proportion to the capital employed.

It will be urged, perhaps, that if such were the fact, its culture would have been more general in the British West Indies. This objection has been anticipated and answered by what has been related of the heavy excise duties on this commodity in Great Britain previous to 1783. To say (as is commonly said in the case of all duties on goods imported) that they fall on the consumer, and not on the planter, proves nothing; for if the price, in consequence of the duties, becomes so high as that the consumer ceases to purchase, the effect is equally ruinous to the cultivator as if they fell immediately on himself. Nothing more clearly demonstrates that the cultivation of this article was greatly affected by the British duties, than the comparative quantities imported into France and England; the whole annual import into Great Britain, on an average of five years (1783 to 1787), not exceeding five million six hundred

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thousand pounds weight; whereas the island of Hispaniola alone has produced an annual supply of seventy million of pounds and upwards.

It is likewise apparent, that since the reduction of the duties in 1783, the cultivation of coffee in the British West Indies, in Jamaica especially, has made a more rapid progress than in thirty years preceding. Yet (as Dr. Mosely has observed) even the present duty of sixpence *per* pound is too high to admit the general use of this fragrant beverage among all classes of people. What then must be thought of the former exaction of three times that duty, which continued for fifty-one years? So little has the science of colonial commerce been understood or adverted to!

Estimate of the Expense and return of a Coffee Plantation in the mountains of Jamaica, fourteen miles from the sea, calculated in the currency of that island, being forty per cent. worse than sterling; viz.

	£.
First cost of 300 acres of mountain land, of which one-half is reserved for provisions and pasturage, at 3*l.* *per* acre	900
Ditto, of 100 negroes, at 70*l.* *per* head	7,000
Ditto, of 20 mules, at 28*l.*	560
Buildings and utensils, mills, and negro tools	2,000
Expense of maintaining the negroes the first year, before provisions can be raised (exclusive of other annual expenses charged below) 5*l.* each	500
	10,960
Compound interest for three years, before any return can be expected, at 6 *per cent.*	2,093
Carried over	£ 13,053

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Brought over		£ 13,053
ANNUAL EXPENSES; viz.		
White overseer and maintenance	£ 200	
One other white servant	70	
Medical attendance on the negroes	25	
Negro-supplies, viz. clothing, tools, salted fish, and other provisions, exclusive of the produce of their own grounds	200	
Colonial taxes	100	
	595	
	3	
Total for three years, before any return can be expected	1,785	
Compound interest, as it arises in the several years	221	
		2,006
Total Expense		£ 15,059

Returns the fourth year, at 4l. per cwt. being the average price of Coffee for five years previous to 1792; viz.

	£.
From 150 acres of young coffee may be expected the fourth year 45,000lbs.	1,800
Deduct annual charges for the fourth year £ 595	
Sacks and saddles 40	
	635
Clear profit (being equal to 7*l.* 14*s.* *per cent.* on the capital)	£ 1,165

Returns the fifth and subsequent years; viz.

		£.
150 acres, yielding 750 lbs. *per* acre, 112,500 lbs. at 4*d.*		4,500
Deduct annual charges, as before	£595	
Sacks and saddles	80	
Repairs of mills, &c.	100	
		775
Clear profit (being equal to 24⅛ *per cent.* on the capital)		£3,725

*** It ought to have been observed in the first edition of this work, that I am indebted for the estimates in this and the two preceding pages, to my worthy friend SAMUEL VAUGHAN, Esq. of St. James's parish, Jamaica, Member of the Assembly of that island, who has directed his attention to the cultivation of coffee with great assiduity and success. He has since favoured me with the following interesting observations, which I have great pleasure in laying before the public.

OBSERVATIONS concerning the cultivation of COFFEE in St. Domingo, and its probable increase in Jamaica, if the Slave Trade shall not be abolished by Act of Parliament.

The French part of St. Domingo, in 1770, exported only five millions of pounds of coffee, but in 1784, a bounty of 40 livres *per* ton having been allowed to slave vessels arriving from

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Africa, and in 1786, a further bounty of 200 livres *per* head on slaves imported, the import of negroes increased annually from 12 and 15,000 to 25 and 30,000; and the effect in that colony of this augmentation of African labourers was a very rapid progress in every species of cultivation; but that of coffee almost exceeds belief: for the export of this article in 1789 had increased to above 76 millions of pounds, which, valued at the present price (90 shillings *per* cwt.), is equal to 3,420,000*l.* sterling! Of this enlarged export, no less than 25 millions of pounds (worth 1,250,000*l.* sterling) were produced between the years 1786 and 1789; and it was supposed that the crop of 1792 (if the troubles had not intervened) would have been 80 millions, so little had the depreciation at market, from the additional quantity brought to sale, affected the cultivation. It seems probable, that the excessive price of the Mocha and Eastern coffee had formerly the effect of a prohibition of the use of this beverage among the middling and lower classes of people in Europe; for the quantity raised in this single island of St. Domingo was so great, the increase of its cultivation so rapid, and the price of West Indian coffee, though 2*s.* 3*d. per* lb. less than that of Mocha, still continuing, at the time of the greatest export, at a profitable height for the cultivator; that it is difficult to account

for these facts, but by supposing the consumers to be augmented by new and numerous people. On this supposition, it is impossible to foresee the extent to which the cultivation of this article in the West Indies may be carried. It is not enough to say, it will equal that of sugar, nor is it likely, as in the case of sugar, to be checked by importation from the East, inasmuch as it has risen to its present wonderful importance in the West Indies, notwithstanding the rivalry of both the East Indies and the Levant. The diminution of the quantity of coffee produced in St. Domingo (upwards of one thousand coffee plantations having been destroyed) will most certainly be felt in a remarkable manner for some years to come: many persons from thence are of opinion, that the exportation will be reduced at least one-half (that is, forty millions of pounds) supposing even that the present rebellion was to terminate without further devastation. The export from the whole British Colonies in 1787 did not amount to four millions of pounds; and therefore, excepting by new cultivation, they cannot supply the deficiency occasioned by the troubles in St. Domingo, nor is the rest of the West Indies able to make it up; for since these troubles, the price has augmented near one-fourth, viz. from 70*s.* to 90*s.* This advance of price will, if not (as in former times) checked by additional du-

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ties, be a premium to all West India Islands where there are mountains; and, as cultivation cannot be carried on in St. Domingo, for some time, to its former extent, for various reasons, it is likely to be a premium of some degree of permanency. Let us now turn to Jamaica: the export of coffee from thence, before 1783, never exceeded 850,000 pounds, notwithstanding the several measures that were taken by the Assembly to encourage its cultivation. The reduction took place in 1783, of the excise, to 6½*d. per* pound, and this seems to have had an immediate influence; for at the fourth year from this event, when we should naturally expect the first appearance of an effect, there was a considerable increase of export; and in three years more, the produce was nearly trebled, it exceeding 2¼ millions. In this situation we stood when the disturbances took place at St. Domingo: it is now sixteen months since the commencement of that rebellion, and by the returns just made from the several parishes, it appears, that 21,011 negroes are employed in the cultivation of coffee in Jamaica. I will suppose, however, that one-fourth of these may be engaged in other objects connected with coffee, still there will remain 15,759 negroes employed solely in raising of this article: who, according to common calculation, when the plants are all at full growth (viz. in 1797), should make a return of about

sixteen millions of pounds; that, is above eighteen times as much as was produced before 1783, and seven times as much as was produced last year. It may be added, that the lowlands of Jamaica are already settled: the highlands, generally speaking, are improper for sugar, but proper for coffee; they are new, they are equal to near two-thirds of Jamaica: the island is now well intersected with roads, &c. &c. In short, the country is prepared, and the time is proper for it.

From all these circumstances taken together, it is reasonable to conclude, that if labourers shall continue to be procured from Africa at moderate prices, and every advantage be made of the present moment, we shall establish in Jamaica a most extensive cultivation of coffee, which, as an export staple, will be of the utmost consequence to Great Britain, perhaps exceeding in value the staple of sugar. But this new and important commerce is entirely dependent on a continued importation of labourers. The increase of the cultivation of coffee to the extent here suggested is, in the present times, of peculiar consequence in two other points of view: First, it will augment the number of that middle class of Whites, who, though not rich enough to live in a distant country, are sufficiently opulent and independent to support their families in comfort and competence in a residence on

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their own estates; secondly, mountain settlements in general increase in negro population, being more healthy than the lowlands. The first circumstance will add to our security, so necessary at present, and which, at all periods, we have in vain attempted, by other means, to effect. The second opens a prospect of an abolition of the Slave Trade, and that at no distant period of time, by natural causes, which will gradually take place without giving reason for complaint to any body of men.

Jamaica, 1793.

HAVING thus copiously treated of the cultivation of those products which chiefly give value and importance to the British colonies in the West Indies, and contribute, in a very eminent degree, to the wealth, commerce, and navigation of the parent state, it is the less necessary for me to dwell at great length on minor staples; yet these cannot be wholly overlooked in a comprehensive survey of the tropical kingdom; neither indeed are they to be considered as unimportant, except by comparison with those rich and profitable commodities of which so much has been said in this and the preceding chapters. The

remaining classes, of which I shall briefly treat, are *cacao*, *ginger*, *arnatto*, *aloes*, and *pimento*. As my observations will be few, they will be chiefly practical and commercial; a systematical description of each being to be found in Sloane, Brown, Hughes, and other writers.

CACAO.

The cacao or chocolate nut, a production equally delicate, wholesome, and nutritive, is a native of South America, and is said to have been originally conveyed to Hispaniola from some of the provinces of New Spain; where, besides affording to the natives an article of nourishment, it served the purpose of money; and was used by them as a medium in barter, one hundred and fifty of the nuts being considered of much the same value as a *royal* by the Spaniards. From this circumstance it seems probable, that if the ancient inhabitants of South America were emigrants from Europe or Asia, they must have detached themselves at an early period, before metals were converted into coins, or from some society which had made but moderate advances in civilization.

Among the Spaniards, with whom the cacao still forms a considerable article of commerce, its cultivation is conducted in the following

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manner. Having chosen a spot of level land (a deep black mould is preferred) sheltered round with a thick wood, so as to be well screened from the wind, especially the north, and caused it to be cleared from all manner of stumps and weeds, the planter digs a number of holes at eighteen or twenty feet distance, each hole being about a foot in length and width, and six or eight inches deep. In the mean time, having selected the largest and fairest pods of the cacao when full ripe, he takes out the grains and puts them into a vessel of water. Such of them as swim are rejected; the others, being washed clean from the pulp and skinned, are suffered to remain in the water till they begin to sprout, at which time they are fit for planting. The owner then takes the banana, or some other large leaves, and places one leaf within the circumference of each hole, so as to line it round; leaving however the sides of the leaf some inches above the ground, after which he rubs in the mould, very lightly, till the hole is filled. He then selects three nuts for each hole, and plants them triangularly, by making a small opening for each with his finger, about two inches deep, into which he puts the nuts, with that end downwards from which the sprout issues, and having lightly covered them with mould, he folds over the leaf, and places a small stone on the top to prevent its opening. In

this manner he plants his whole walk, or orchard. At the end of eight or ten days, the plants will generally be found to rise above the earth. The leaves are then opened, that their growth may not be impeded; but, in order to shelter them from the sun, other leaves or branches are placed round the hole; for which purpose those of the palm kind are generally chosen (for having a strong stem, they are easily fixed in the earth); and they are changed as often as they decay, for the space of five or six months. It is also thought advisable to plant some other tree (the erythrina or bean-tree is generally chosen for this purpose) to the south-west of the cacao plant which may grow up with it, and serve it for shelter;—for it must always be remembered, that young cacao trees will flourish only in the shade.

If all the three nuts placed in each hole spring up, it is thought necessary, when the plants are eighteen or twenty inches high, to cut one of them down. The other two, if they spread different ways, are sometimes suffered to remain; but it seldom happens that all the nuts, or even more than one of them, will take root, which is the reason of planting three in a hole.

The fifth year the tree begins to bear, and the eighth attains its full perfection: it then produces in general two crops of fruit in the year, yielding at each, from ten to twenty

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pounds weight, according to the soil and seasons; and it will sometimes continue bearing for twenty years; but the same delicacy of stamina which marks its infancy, is visible in all the stages of its growth. It is obnoxious to blights, and shrinks from the first appearance of drought. It has happened that the greatest part of a whole plantation of cacao trees have perished in a single night, without any visible cause. Circumstances of this nature, in early times, gave rise to many superstitious notions concerning this tree, and, among others, the appearance of a comet was always considered as fatal to the cacao plantations.

In spite, however, of the influence of comets, and notwithstanding the care and precaution that are requisite in the first establishment of a cacao plantation, it is certain that the cultivation of this plant was both extensive and successful in the British sugar islands, for many years after they had become subject to the British government. Blome, who published a short account of Jamaica in 1672, speaks of cacao as being at that time one of the chief articles of export: "There are," says he, "in this island, at this time, about sixty cacao walks (plantations) and many more now planting." At present I believe there is not a single cacao plantation from one end of Jamaica to the other. A few scattered trees, here and there,

are all that remain of those flourishing and beautiful groves which were once the pride and boast of the country. They have withered, with the indigo manufacture, under the heavy hand of ministerial exaction. The excise on cacao, when made into cakes, rose to no less than twelve pounds twelve shillings *per* cwt. exclusive of eleven shillings and eleven pence halfpenny, paid at the custom-house; amounting together to upwards of four hundred and eighty *per cent.* on its marketable value!

It is to be hoped that the error of imposing such heavy impositions on our own colonial growths, is at length become sufficiently manifest.

After all, there is reason to apprehend that our sugar islands can never again enter into competition with the Spanish Americans in the cultivation of the article of which I treat. At present the only cacao plantations of any account, in our colonies, are in Grenada and Dominica; and the quantity annually exported from both those islands cannot, I believe, be estimated on an average at more than four thousand bags of one hundred weight each, which may be worth, at the London market, between ten and eleven thousand pounds sterling.*

* The cacao tree, both in size and shape, somewhat resembles a young *blackheart cherry*. The flower is of a saffron colour, extremely beautiful, and the pods, which in a green

GINGER.

This grateful aromatic root had a very early introduction into Hispaniola, and I should not have supposed it an exotic, but that Acosta relates it was conveyed from the East Indies to New Spain, by a person named Francisco de Mendoza.

If such was the fact, the Spanish Americans

state are much like a cucumber, proceed immediately from all parts of the body and larger branches. As they ripen, they change their colour, and turn to a fine blueish-red, almost purple, with pink-coloured veins. This is the common sort; but there is a larger species, which produces pods of a delicate yellow or lemon-colour. Each pod may contain from twenty to thirty nuts or kernels, not unlike almonds, which are again inclosed in a white pulpy substance, soft and sweet, and immediately enveloped in a parchment shell. These nuts, being first simply dried in the sun, are packed for market, and require very little preparation, after removing the shell, to be made into good chocolate. The cakes which are generally used under this name in England, appear to me to be composed of not more than one-half genuine cacao; the remainder I take to be *flour*, and *Castile soap*. Considered medicinally, chocolate is said to be too heavy for weak and relaxed stomachs; but in the West Indies, experience abundantly demonstrates that it is in the highest degree balsamic and restorative.—Colonel Montague James of Jamaica, who was the first white person born after the conquest of the island by the English, lived to the great age of one hundred and four, and for the last thirty years of his life used scarce any other food than chocolate.

must have entertained very high expectations of profit from its culture, and carried it to a great extent in a very short space of time; it appearing from the same author, that no less than 22,053 cwt. were exported by them to Old Spain in the year 1547.

Ginger is distinguished into two sorts, the black and the white; but the difference arises wholly from the mode of curing; the former being rendered fit for preservation by means of boiling water, the latter by insolation; and, as it is found necessary to select the fairest and soundest roots for exposure to the sun, white ginger is commonly one-third dearer than black in the market.

In the cultivation of this root no greater skill or care is required than in the propagation of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is planted much in the same manner; but is fit for digging only once a year, unless for the purpose of preserving it in syrup. In that case, it must be taken up at the end of three or four months, while its fibres are tender, and full of sap. Ginger thus prepared makes an admirable sweetmeat; but it is too well known to require description.

It seems to me that this commodity is growing greatly out of use in Europe, and its cultivation in the West Indies decreases in consequence. The average quantity exported an-

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nually fom the British islands may be stated at ten thousand bags of one cwt. of which 6000 are the produce of Barbadoes, and the remainder (except a very small part from Dominica) is raised in Jamaica. Its medium price at the London market, is forty shillings the hundred weight.*

ARNATTO.

This production is indigenous, and was called by one class of Indians roucou, and by another achiotte. Of its present name I know not the derivation. Its botanical name is bixa orellana. It is a shrub which rises to the height of seven or eight feet, and produces oblong hairy pods, somewhat resembling those of a chesnut. Within these are thirty or forty irregularly figured seeds, which are enveloped in a pulp of a bright red colour, and unpleasant smell, in appearance like the sort of paint called red lead when mixed up with oil; and as paint it was used by some tribes of the Indians, in the same manner as woad by the ancient Britons.

Of the cultivation of this plant I know nothing, because most of the arnatto, shipped at present from our own islands, is I believe ga-

* Jamaica alone, in 1738, exported 20,933 bags, of one cwt. each, and 8864 lbs. in casks.—An acre of fresh land, with favourable seasons, will yield about 140 lbs. annually.

thered from trees growing spontaneously. The method of extracting the pulp, and preparing it for market, is simply by boiling the seeds in clear water, till they are perfectly extricated; after which the seeds are taken out, and the water left undisturbed for the pulp to subside. It is then drawn off, and the sediment distributed into shallow vessels, and dried gradually in the shade.

Arnatto thus prepared is mixed up by the Spanish Americans with their chocolate; to which it gives (in their opinion) an elegant tincture, and great medicinal virtue. They suppose that it strengthens the stomach, stops fluxes, and abates febrile symptoms; but its principal consumption, I believe, is among painters and dyers.* I am informed that it is sometimes used by the Dutch farmers, to give a richness of colour to their butter, and very small quantities of it are said to be applied in the same manner in English dairies. On the whole, however, it is an object of no great commercial importance, and the demand for it is not sufficient to encourage much attention to its cultivation.

* The liquid sold in London by the name of "Scott's nankeen dye," is said to be arnatto, dissolved in water by means of potash. *Bancroft's Philosophy of Colours.*

ALOES.

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The most valuable species of aloes is that of the island of Socotora in the East Indies, the introduction of which in our West Indian colonies, has hitherto been unaccountably neglected. The species called the hepatic, is the only sort known to our planters; and even of this the cultivation in the British dominions is, I believe, at present, wholly confined to the island of Barbadoes, where it is said to have been originally introduced from Bermudas. It is propagated by suckers, and will thrive in soils the most dry and barren. The mode of extracting and preparing the juice is as follows:—

The plant is pulled up by the roots, and carefully cleansed from the earth, or other impurities. It is then sliced, and cut in pieces, into small hand-baskets or nets. These nets or baskets are put into large iron boilers or cauldrons with water, and boiled for ten minutes, when they are taken out, and fresh parcels supplied, till the liquor is strong and black.

At this period the liquor is thrown through a strainer into a deep vat, narrow at bottom, where it is left to cool, and to deposit its feculent parts. Next day the clear liquor is drawn off by a cock, and again committed to the large iron vessel.

At first it is boiled briskly, but towards the end the evaporation is slow, and requires constant stirring to prevent burning. When it becomes of the consistence of honey, it is poured into gourds, or calabashes, for sale, and hardens by age.

PIEMENTO, OR ALLSPICE.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the most elegant productions in nature; a production which rivals the most valuable spices of the East, combining the flavour and properties of many of those spices; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable substitute, and succedaneum for them all.

The piemento tree grows spontaneously, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly situations near the sea, on the northern side of that island; where they form the most delicious groves that can possibly be imagined; filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality, though in a very distant part of the globe, to our great poet's description of those balmy gales which convey to the delighted voyager

"Sabean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest———
Cheer'd with the grateful smell, old ocean smiles."

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This tree is purely a child of nature, and seems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raise them from the seeds, in parts of the country where it is not found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. The usual method of forming a new piemento plantation, (in Jamaica it is called *a walk*) is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of wood land, in the neighbourhood of a plantation already existing, or in a country where the scattered trees are found in a native state, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are suffered to remain on the ground till they become rotten and perish. In the course of twelve months after the first season, abundance of young piemento plants will be found growing vigorously in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries scattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both shelter and shade. At the end of two years, it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleaning, leaving such only of the piemento trees as have a good appearance, which will then soon form such groves as those I have described, and, except perhaps for the first four or five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I do not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young

piemento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth and shining, and altogether free of bark, rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all sides, richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay-tree; and these, in the months of July and August, are beautifully contrasted and relieved hy an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable, that the leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and, I am told, yield in distillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly used, in the medicinal dispensaries of Europe, for oil of cloves.

Soon after the trees are in blossom, the berries become fit for gathering: the fruit not being suffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that state, being moist and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and when dry, becomes black and tasteless. It is impossible, however, to prevent some of the ripe berries from mixing with the rest; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is considerably injured.

It is gathered by the hand;—one labourer on the tree, employed in gathering the small branches, will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children) in picking the berries; and an industrious picker will fill a bag of 70lbs. in the day. It is then spread on a terrace, and exposed to the sun for

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about seven days, in the course of which it loses its green colour, and becomes of a reddish brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

The returns from a piemento walk in a favourable season are prodigious. A single tree has been known to yield 150lbs. of the raw fruit, or one cwt. of the dried spice; there being commonly a loss in weight of one-third in curing; but this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the British market, as may be supposed, fluctuates accordingly, but I believe its average, for some years past, may be put at ten-pence the pound, including the duty, which is three-pence.

This, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however so little profit to the owner, compared with that of some other productions, that the growth of piemento decreases every year; many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of sugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces piemento) is about six thousand bags of one hundred and twelve pounds each.

I HAVE now finished all that I proposed to offer on West Indian productions and agriculture. The subject is naturally dry and forbidding, and having wearied myself, I have no doubt that I have exhausted the patience of others. Let it not be forgotten, however, that I have had to conduct my readers through a path—not strewed with roses, but—perplexed with briars, and hitherto almost untrodden. In such a pursuit, I may perhaps be content to give up all pretensions to the happy talent of blending pleasure with instruction, satisfied with the homely praise of being useful to the most useful part of the community.*

* To the productions of the British West Indies, imported into Great Britian, might be added *tumeric, cinnamon,* and *cloves.* Plantations of each are established; but they are yet in their infancy. Enough however has been produced of each of those commodities, and the quality such, as to demonstrate that they can be raised in our sugar islands, in as great plenty and perfection as in any part of the world.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK V.

CONTAINING

Some Account of the Cultivation of the Clove Tree, in the Island of Dominica, by William Urban Buée, Esq. of that Island; from a Memoir presented by him in 1796 to the Lords of the Committee of Council for the Affairs of Trade and Plantations.

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About the month of July 1789, a friend of mine in Cayenne sent me, as a present, a clove tree about six inches high, having six or eight leaves, and accompanied with a printed paper respecting the cultivation of it. It was required by my friend's paper, that the tree should be planted in a rich soil, and in a moist and cool situation, and in the shade of some trees round it. It was also observed by my friend, that the tree would thrive best if it were planted between four plantain trees. The continent of Cayenne being free from hurricanes, and the island of Dominica being, on the contrary, exposed to them, I thought that the plantain trees were of too tender a nature to afford a sufficient shade; because with the least gust of wind they might fall on the clove tree and destroy it: in consequence, I selected one of the richest spots on my estate, being a rich black soil, where I had sixteen thousand coffee trees growing most luxuriantly; between four of those coffee trees I planted my clove tree with great care; I surrounded it with sticks to prevent it from being trod upon; the coffee trees served as

a shade, and my intention was, when the clove tree should extend itself, to lop or cut down the coffee tree nearest to it. Every possible care was taken of this plant: it was kept clean, and every time I went on my estate I visited it; knowing of what consequence it would be to the public in general, and to me in particular, if I could bring this experiment to succeed. It may be easily supposed with what anxiety I viewed the growth of the plant; but, alas! what was my grief, when I found the clove tree hardly vegetating, losing its old leaves, as new ones sprung at the top; and, in the long space of near six months, not gaining an inch in height: disappointed in my hopes, I informed my friend of the little success I had had, and intreated his assistance in procuring other trees, if possible. In the month of December 1789, two more trees were sent to me. From my first disappointment, I wished to plant these new trees nearer to my house, and in a place that would be convenient for watching and promoting their growth. My dwelling-house is situated on a hill, to the eastward, which hill is composed of a stiff red clay soil; at the foot of this hill, and on the east side, is situated my garden; to obtain a flat of about one hundred and twenty feet square, one part of that hill has been dug and levelled, which in some parts has made a bank of nearly eleven feet high; the ground was spread over, in order to fill up the inequalities of the surface: it will readily be observed how poor some part of that surface must be, particularly on that side, where eleven feet where cut from the hill. Here I planted the above-mentioned two trees, but, at the same time, took care to place them as far as I could from that side of the hill, which had been pared down, as I had observed its soil was a stiff red clay; I therefore dug two holes at about twelve feet from each other, of about eighteen inches diameter, and two feet deep; finding the substratum to be of a yellow, strong, gravelly nature, I filled up these two holes with some good

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mould, and in each of them I planted a clove tree; they grew fast and with luxuriance; which induced me to transplant the first clove tree I had received into the same garden, observing the same treatment; but whilst that tree was growing to my satisfaction, an insect destroyed the top of it, and occasioned its death.

In the month of November 1791, being at Martinico, I visited the different gardens in and about the town of Saint Pierre: as I was walking in the garden belonging to the Dominican friars, I remarked several young clove trees, each in a separate basket; they were the property of a gardener from Cayenne, and were to be disposed of. I purchased the whole of them, consisting of fourteen trees: after collecting, from the generosity of my friends, different other plants, I returned to Dominica, rich with my new acquisition of clove trees, and determined to try different soils. Holes were dug in several parts of my garden, from twelve to fourteen feet distance, and of about the same dimensions as those mentioned before: on examining the soil, I found some of a stiff gravelly nature; in other parts, the substratum was of a yellow sandy kind; in some holes, after taking out about six inches of the surface, I found a stiff red clay; mixing some black mould with the different earths taken out of these holes, I filled them up, and planted in them ten out of the fourteen trees, reserving four trees for that part of the garden nearer the foot of the hill, where ten or eleven feet had been cut from the surface; there I dug no more than was necessary to plant my trees: the ground was a close, compact, stiff, red clay. In order to make an experiment, I mixed no mould, dung, sand, or other soil, with design to open the pores of the clay, but planted these last four trees in that clay, without the assistance of any thing whatever; abandoning their fate to nature, being resolved to run the risk of losing them, for the purpose of ascertaining, whether the clove tree required a rich soil or not. At the moment I

now write, (October 1793,) twenty-three months have elapsed, since the planting of these last fourteen trees; and it is with satisfaction I can assert, that the four trees, which were planted in the clay, have grown, with at least as much, if not more luxuriance than the other ten; they are from five to six feet high, growing with vigour, fully furnished with branches at the bottom, and terminating in a point at the top, like a pyramid: out of those fourteen trees, six of them were planted in a row, in the flattest part of the garden; the ground, with which the holes had been filled up having sunk a little below the surface, a hollow round three of these trees was formed, and the water not having a sufficient current, collected round them: one tree died: the other two appearing to be in a declining state, I raised them above six inches, that they might be rather above the surface of the ground. Although these trees were planted with the others in November 1791, one of the two declining trees is not above six inches high, and the other twelve inches, whilst the other trees are three feet in height; this is a sufficient proof, that the clove tree requires a dry situation, and dreads a springy damp soil; though a certain degree of moisture will promote its growth.

In the month of January 1793, with much trouble and expence, (say trouble, because the exportation from the French islands is prohibited), I procured two boxes of *mother of cloves**: the berries were packed, some in sand, others in loose earth: upon receiving them, I ordered beds to be prepared in my garden, and in different parts of my estate, for the conveniency of transplanting, and of saving distance, when the nurseries should be fit for that purpose. I planted these seeds at about six inches distance, covering them with about one inch of earth. I had been previously told, that the clove tree, when young, requires to be sheltered from the sun; but reflecting on the latitudes of

* Berries of the clove tree ripe and fit for vegetation.

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Cayenne, and of the Moluccas, which are under the fourth and fifth degrees, the one north, the other south, and the latitude of Dominica, which is between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees north, I knew that ten degrees would make a material difference in the climate, particularly on Montpellier estate, which is situated on an elevated situation, and about three miles distant from the sea. I thought, that if I could rear those seeds without the assistance of any shade, they would, from their infancy, be inured to the sun and air, would be more hardy, and consequently would bear transplanting with less risk and danger; but in this I was deceived. The mother of clove, on its first visible vegetation, appears like a small, straight, red dart; when it comes to two inches high, two small red leaves are seen on its top; on the first appearance of these leaves, when hardly perceptible to the naked eye, I found, that on the sun shining with any degree of heat, the plants drooped and perished; whereby many seeds were lost: I therefore caused small frames to be erected over all the beds, about three feet high from the ground, and I spread on them plantain leaves, in order to shade the young plants: I kept supplying those leaves for near nine months; after which time I suffered the leaves to decay gradually, that the sun might be admitted to the plants, as they acquired strength; and in the space of twelve months, they were fit to be transplanted. Out of six thousand mother of cloves, I saved from fifteen to sixteen hundred trees, which I began to transplant in January 1794, in the open field, at sixteen feet distance. They are growing very luxuriantly: I have lost but few, and none but such as were in places where the water collected. They are now fifteen months old, from the day they were transplanted, and most of them are between three and four feet high, apparently very healthy. The ground, wherein they are planted, had been under coffee for forty years; the coffee trees had decayed, which I tried in vain to replace, but they would not grow. Being

disappointed, I turned it into a pasture, which, from neglect, was covered with guava bushes, a plant very prejudicial to any soil; I then resolved to clear it, and plant my clove trees in it. This pasture ground, on the whole, is of a compact, strong, gravelly soil; in some parts it is of a clayey nature; but the trees grow well in both.

As Abbé Raynal has been very exact in his description of the clove, I shall adopt the same from his history. "*The flowers of the clove tree are disposed in a corymbus "terminalis; they have each of them a long quadrifid calix, "which bears as many petals, and a great number of sta- "mina; the pistil, inclosed at the bottom of this calix, be- "comes along with it an oviform fruit, filled up with a "single kernel, and known by the name of mother of clove; "this same calix, gathered before the unfolding of the petals "and the fecundation of the pistil, is the clove as sold in the "shops. The clove is fit to be gathered when it has acquired "a reddish cast, and a certain degree of firmness.*"— The two clove trees, which I planted in December 1789, appeared with clove buds, on or about the 20th of January 1795; some of the cloves were fit to be gathered in May and June following; and such of the cloves as were left on the trees for the purpose of obtaining the mother of cloves for seeds, acquired a proper degree of maturity, in July and August: so that allowing those two trees to be about one year old, when they came to me, from the seeds, which I planted, I judge they were of that age; I think the clove tree becomes productive, in the course of little more than six years, instead of nine years, as mentioned by Abbé Raynal.

I have this year (1795) but two clove trees that are bearing; in the year 1796, I shall have twenty-four more; and in the year 1799, I shall have from fifteen to sixteen hundred trees, in a state of production. Such of the trees, as are situated in flat grounds, I shall leave to their natural growth, by which more profit will be got,

and shady walks obtained, an object of consideration in a warm climate; and those trees that are placed on a declivity, I shall top at eight or nine feet, for the convenience of gathering. Having few cloves to gather this year, (1795), they were picked with the hand. In the Moluccas, the planters either spread cloths on the ground, or sweep the ground clean under and about the trees, and with the assistance of reeds, they cause the cloves to fall down; after which they expose them, for a few days, to smoke upon hurdles, which are covered with large leaves; and this fumigation is followed by drying the cloves in the sun.

In order to ascertain the best mode of rendering the cloves merchantable, I tried several ways of desiccating them when gathered. The first, that I cured, in the shade, and in a warm room, were a fortnight before they appeared dry; and on breaking them with the nail, the ball, which is on the top of the clove, I found in the inside to be mouldy; and on chewing the clove, they had a musty taste: I from these circumstances found, that this mode of curing the cloves would not answer.

The second gathering of cloves, I desiccated entirely by the heat of the sun. When dried, they appeared of a blacker hue than the East India cloves, but of a stronger and more pungent taste.

The third trial, after gathering the cloves, on a very rainy day, I put them in a stove which I had constructed for that purpose, and left for two nights and a day: the heat was rather strong, and the rainy weather having prevented me from going to town, hindered me from getting a thermometer to ascertain the degree of heat of the stove. At the end of the second night, I took the cloves from the stove, and completed the desiccation by the sun; which operation, when perfected, gave the cloves a brownish hue, a good pungent taste, but not so strong a flavour as those that had been desiccated by the sun only.

The fourth desiccation was nevertheless done in the same way; but, having got a thermometer, I observed this difference. After putting my green cloves in the stove, I took care that the heat was more moderate than that of the third trial; I left the cloves in the stove for only one night, and half a day, until they were faded, and had acquired a brown colour. I hung my thermometer in the stove, and found the heat to vary from 120 to 130 degrees; this done, I took out the thermometer, and let the heat decrease to the usual degree of my estate, which was on that day seventy-six degrees; after this, from one o'clock to two, I exposed the thermometer to the sun; the day was fair; and the thermometer getting up to 128 degrees, this shewed the heat of the stove to be nearly equal to that of the sun. After taking the cloves out of the stove, the rest of the desiccation was done by the sun. I found these cloves, when perfectly dry, to be of a brownish hue, not so strong in taste as those desiccated by the sun only, but stronger than those that had been, for two nights, and a day, exposed in the stove to a greater heat than these last. Having set aside the first curing by the shade, I have numbered the cloves that underwent the three last desiccations, No. 1, 2, and 3: the persons, to whose judgment these specimens will be submitted, will decide on the best quality amongst the three sorts; all of which are far superior in their strength, and pungency, to those that come from the East Indies, and appear to me to contain a great deal more essential oil; for, when exposed to heat, on pressing the nail on a clove, the essential oil is perceived to come out of it; which is not the case with the East India cloves, at least such as I have bought, in this island, for the purpose of comparing them with mine.

In curing the clove, I find it indispensable to have a stove, for the following reasons: After gathering cloves, I perceived that if they were not, within a short time

after such gathering, faded, either by the heat of the sun, or by that of a stove, that the greatest part of the cloves, on being dried afterwards, acquired a light brownish hue, lost their firmness, strength, or pungency; and many appeared as damaged cloves, and, as the weather is exceedingly variable in this part of the world, and the air, in general, damp, particularly in the country, it will be absolutely necessary to have a stove heated to the degree before mentioned, and to leave the cloves in it till they are faded, I mean, until they have acquired a brown hue: after which, the rest of the desiccation may be done at ease, by the heat of the sun, or by exposure in a dry airy room.

The annual production of a clove tree in the Molucca Islands, according to Abbé Raynal's account, is about three pounds for each tree. There, they are topped, at from eight to nine feet, for the conveniency of gathering: but, in Cayenne, where they are left without topping, and where there are clove trees larger than our orange trees, it is reported, they produce from forty to fifty pounds each tree.

The two trees, which, under my management, have produced cloves this year, on the Montpellier estate, have netted me four pounds and a half of cured cloves, besides two pounds, at least, of cloves, which I have left on the trees, to obtain mother of cloves, for the multiplication of that spice; and besides this I have about half a pound of cloves, which having fallen on the ground before their degree of maturity, have been dried, and are very good for domestic use: these last are strong but small; so that these two trees have produced more than seven pounds of cloves. As this is the first time of their production, and they are young, it may be reasonably expected, that when older they will acquire more strength, and more branches; and consequently will be a great deal more productive.

To the preceding Extract it is thought necessary to add the following Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.

Soho Square, August 11, 1796.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, that I have read with attention the paper on the successful culture of the clove tree in Dominica, which your Lordship did me the honour of referring to me, and am of opinion, that it ought to be printed for the information of his Majesty's subjects in the West Indies, and other intertropical colonies.

Mr. Buée is, as far as I know, the first person, who has observed, that the pimento tree prospers best in those steril soils where trees whose wood is of a head texture abound, and that sugar cannot be cultivated to advantage in such places; also, on the other hand, that where trees whose wood is soft, are naturally found, pimento trees rarely are met with, and sugar plantations will succeed; on such steril soils he has tried clove trees, and found them congenial to its nature.

These observations open to the cultivators of hot climates a new source of wealth, which will not probably be confined to the growth of cloves; other spices may also prosper best in the barren soils of the West Indies, as lavender, thyme, and other aromatic plants, are known to do in those of Europe.

I have the honour of sending to your Lordship, with this, a paper containing samples of cloves received by me from Mr. Buée some months ago: Number 1 and 2, mentioned by him p. 19, (381) are mixed; No. 3, his best sort, are separate. Your Lordship may, if you think fit, order a comparison to be made, by some dealers in spice, between these and the cloves we usually receive from the

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Dutch: I shall only add, that when I applied for information on the same subject to an eminent wholesale dealer in that article, the only answer I obtained, was, that he thought me grievously deceived, in supposing the cloves to be the produce of the West Indies, he being absolutely certain they came from the East.

I have the honour to be,

With infinite regard and esteem,

Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOS. BANKS.

EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

BOOK VI.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

CHAPTER I.

Colonial Establishments.—Of the Captain General or Chief Governor; his Powers and Privileges.—Some Reflections on the usual Choice of Persons for this high Office.—Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Governor, and President.—Of the Council, their Office and Functions.—Origin of their Claim to a Share in the Legislature.—Its Necessity, Propriety, and Legality considered.—Some Corrections in the Constitution of this Body proposed.

CHAP. I.

THE British establishments in the West Indies are commonly termed *king's* governments, in contradistinction to the *proprietary* and *charter* governments which were known in North America; and, from what has been stated in some preceding parts of this work, the reader must have observed, how very nearly their internal constitutions conform to that of

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the mother country. Their different orders of judicature are exactly like those of England, and their legislatures, in general, respectively consist of three distinct branches; *i. e.* a governor, representing the crown, a council or upper house, and a body of delegates representing the people at large. The two first are necessarily imperfect, because they are not independent; but the members of the last are more fairly and equally chosen by their constituents, than those of the British House of Commons by the people of Great Britain. Of the powers and privileges claimed and exercised by these several branches respectively, in their own little system, and whence derived, I shall now briefly treat. And first of the

GOVERNOR.

Every chief governor in the British West Indies is appointed by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain. He receives through courtesy the title of Excellency, and is vested with the following powers:

First, as captain-general and commander in chief, he has the actual command of all the land forces within his government (except only when a general officer is employed on the staff) and he commissions all officers of the militia. He appoints the judges of all the different courts

of, common law, and even these gentlemen, in all the islands, I believe (Jamaica excepted*) hold their seats during the governor's good pleasure. He nominates and supersedes at will, the custodes of the several parishes, justices of the peace, and other subordinate civil officers; and although in respect to some of the above appointments and dismissions, he is directed to ask the advice of his council, this direction is of little avail, inasmuch as the members of this body are themselves liable to be suspended by the governor, on the most frivolous pretences, or even without any cause assigned; a circumstance, by the way, which not unfrequently happens; and having thus reduced the board under a number limited by his instructions, he can fill up the vacancies *instanter*, with such persons as will be *properly obedient*. He has authority, with the advice of his council, to summon general assemblies; he appoints the

* By an act passed in Jamaica in 1781, intituled, "An act to make the places of the judges, &c. more permanent and respectable," it is declared, that no judge shall be removed but by the king's pleasure, signified under his majesty's sign manual. It is provided however that the governor, with the consent of five of his council, may *suspend*, until the king's pleasure be known, accounting to his majesty for, and delivering to the party suspended a copy of his reasons in writing for such suspension. This proviso seems to me to render this act in a great measure nugatory.

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place of their meeting, and when met, he possesses a negative voice in the legislature, for without his consent, no bill passes into a law; and he may, from time to time, as he alone shall judge needful, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all such general assemblies. He has the disposal of all such civil employments as the crown does not dispose of; and with respect to such offices as are usually filled up by the British government, if vacancies happen, the governor appoints *pro tempore*, and the persons so appointed are entitled to all the emoluments, until they are superseded at home, and until the persons nominated to supersede them arrive in the colony. The governor claims the privilege also, in extraordinary cases, and has been known frequently to exercise it, of suspending such civil officers even as act immediately under the king's authority, or by commission from the boards of treasury and admiralty, in high and lucrative employments, as the attorney and advocate-general, the collectors of the customs, &c. and of nominating other persons to act in their room, until the king's pleasure shall be known therein. To all which is added authority, when he shall judge any offender in criminal matters a fit object of mercy, to extend the king's gracious pardon towards him, except only in cases of murder and high treason; and even in these cases, the governor is permitted to re-

prieve until the signification of the royal pleasure.

Secondly, the governor has the custody of the great seal, and, in most of the colonies, presides solely in the high court of Chancery. Indeed, in some of the Windward Islands, as we have seen, the council sit as judges in the court of Chancery with the governor: process however is issued by the governor alone, and tested in his name; and in general the governor exercises within his jurisdiction, the same extensive powers as are possessed by the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

Thirdly, the governor is Ordinary, and collates to all vacant church benefices. He hath also the power of granting probate of wills, and administration of the effects of persons dying intestate. He grants licences for marriages, and licences for schools, &c. and is sole judge in all matters relating to the consistorial or ecclesiastical law.

Fourthly, the governor presides in the court of Error, of which he and the council are judges, to hear and determine all appeals, in the nature of writs of error, from the superior courts of common law.

Fifthly, the governor is also vice-admiral within the extent of his government. As such, he is entitled to the rights of *jetsan flotsam*, &c. and in time of war, he issues his warrant to the

judge of the court of vice-admiralty, to grant commissions to privateers.*

Lastly, a colony-governor, besides various emoluments arising from fees, fines, forfeitures, and escheats, has an honourable annual provision settled upon him by act of assembly, for the whole term of his administration in the colony. For, in order that he may not be tempted to prostitute the dignity of his station by improper condescensions to leading men in the assembly, he is restrained by his instructions from accepting any salary, unless the same be settled upon him by law, within the space of one year after his entrance into the government, and expressly made irrevocable during the whole term of his residence in the administration. And this, in my opinion, is a wise and most necessary restriction.

Armed with such various authorities, and possessing such transcendent pre-eminence and

* It may not be improper to observe in this place, that the court of vice-admiralty in the Colonies, by the 4th of Geo. III. chap. 15, is invested with a concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of record, in cases of forfeitures and penalties incurred by the breach of any act of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the British colonies in America; and in prosecutions in this court, all questions, as well of fact as of law, are decided by the judge alone, without the intervention of a jury. The judge is nominated by the crown. The colonists complain with great reason of this law, as a direct violation and infringement of their best and dearest constitutional rights.

privileges as I have described, it is not to be expected, from the common fallibility of human nature, that every colony-governor (placed at so great a distance from the mother-country) should, on every occasion, *bear his faculties meekly*. Great caution is therefore undoubtedly necessary, on the part of a British minister, in the choice of persons for a trust of so great weight and dignity; the powers with which our plantation-governors are invested being more extensive than those which the laws of England allow to the sovereign himself. It is however a melancholy truth, that party merit, and connections, are commonly the most forcible recommendations with which a candidate for a distant government can present himself; and that persons equally devoid of character, ability, and fortune, have sometimes been sent to preside in our most important settlements, as if justice and public virtue were best administered and promoted by men most distinguished for ignorance and profligacy, and that they would prove the best protectors of other people's fortunes, who by vice and profusion had dissipated their own!

In nominating to an office which is a constituent part of the legislature, which has power to controul the administration of executive justice, and, in most cases, has the sole exercise of the vast and extensive jurisdiction appertaining to a

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court of equity, it might be supposed that a prudent minister, among other qualifications in the person selected, would consider that some little knowledge of the laws and constitution of England is indispensably requisite. It is remarkable, however, that the military professions (which certainly are not eminent for such kind of knowledge) are found to supply most of the gentlemen who are elevated to this high station. It were unjust, at the same time, not to allow that some of these have acquitted themselves in the civil department with extraordinary reputation and honour. Both the late Sir William Trelawney, and Sir Basil Keith, who successively administered the government of Jamaica, were educated from early youth in the navy; yet possessing sound judgments and upright intentions, their conduct as governors gave abundant satisfaction to the people of the colony, without incurring the disapprobation of the crown; and their names will be remembered there with reverence, so long as worthy governors shall be numbered among the benefactors of mankind.* But these

* Soon after the above was written, the inhabitants of Jamaica had the misfortune to lose, in an untimely grave, their highly valued and most lamented governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, who was appointed captain-general of that island in the beginning of 1790, and died in his government in October 1791. This nobleman was educated in

are rare instances; and it must generally be admitted, that the appointment to high civil

the army; and, with the frankness and firmness of the soldier, possessed very extraordinary talents for civil employment.—His merit as Chancellor surpassed all that the warmest of his friends had predicted. He displayed a calmness of temper, and a clearness of conception, which the captious and subtle perplexities of forensic argument could not disturb or elude. His mind was strong, quick, penetrating, sound, and decisive; but the prominent feature of his character, which displayed itself in all cases and on every occasion, was a manly and unshaken intrepidity. He neither courted nor dreaded any man living; proceeding straight forward in the plain path of his duty, without fear, favour, or affection.—At his first entrance into the government, his manners were thought ungracious; but his talents and virtues were soon happily experienced, and he then became the most popular of all governors. The Roman people displayed not greater affliction at the death of Germanicus, than was manifested by the inhabitants of Jamaica for the loss of Lord Effingham. The assembly voted a magnificent funeral for the remains of his Lordship, as they had for those of the Countess of Effingham, who died a short time before him. They likewise ordered a monument to be erected to perpetuate the memory of their virtues, and the author of this work had the honour of drawing up the inscription thereon; which is as follows:

To the Memory of
THOMAS, Earl of EFFINGHAM, Baron Howard,
Captain-General and Chief Governor of this Island,
in the years 1790 and 1791:
And of KATHARINE his Wife.
The latter departed this life on the 13th day of
October, 1791,

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offices of men whose education and past pursuits have not given them opportunities of acquiring much acquaintance with the principles of our limited government, is a very dangerous

In a voyage undertaken for the benefit of her health,
in His Majesty's ship Diana:
The former, on the 19th of the following month,
The third week after the melancholy return of the Diana
with the remains of his beloved Consort,
whom he seemed unwilling to survive,
And with whom he was deposited in the same grave.
Thus, united in their lives
by the most tender and exalted ties,—
He—the fond and indulgent Husband,
She—the cheerful and obedient Wife,—
In their deaths they were not divided!

To perpetuate the remembrance
of so illustrious a pattern of conjugal affection;
To manifest the public sense
of the many public and private virtues of their
respected Governor;
And to record, for the benefit of posterity,
The clearness of that sagacity,
The extent of that knowledge,
And the purity and firmness of that integrity,
which rendered his administration
the boast and security of a grateful people;
The ASSEMBLY of JAMAICA,
having caused the remains of this noble and
lamented Pair to be interred with funeral honours
at the public expence, the whole House
attending each procession as Mourners,
As a farther testimony of merited esteem
Inscribe this Monument.

experiment. Persons of this class, with the purest intentions, are easily misled by selfish and interested men, whom the consciousness of their own deficiencies compels them to consult.—Even while actuated by honest and laudable motives, they may violate irreparably the first principles of law and a free constitution, by establishing fatal precedents which no integrity of intention can sanctify. Mr. Stokes, the late chief justice of Georgia, relates, that a governor of a province in North America (at that time a British colony) ordered the provost-marshal to hang up a convict some days before the time appointed by his sentence, and a rule of court for his execution. "He meant well," says Stokes, "but being a military man, conceived that as he had power to reprieve after sentence, he had power to execute also when he pleased: and the criminal was actually hanged as the governor ordered, nor could his excellency be persuaded, that, by this very act, he was himself committing felony."

An anecdote not less curious than the former is related by the same author of another military governor, who, it seems, took it into his head to suspend a gentleman from his seat in the council, for no other reason than marrying his daughter without his consent.

It may be said, perhaps, that in these cases the mischief to the public, exclusive of the prece-

dent, was not very great. I could produce, however, many an instance, in the conduct of governors, in which something more would appear, I am afraid, than mere folly, and the ignorant misapplication of authority. But the task is invidious, and I willingly decline it.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, AND PRESIDENT.

In a government comprehending several islands, as that of the Leeward Charaibean Islands, there is commonly appointed, together with the captain-general or chief governor, a lieutenant-general, who is next in succession. He is usually lieutenant-governor likewise of one of the islands included within the general government, each of which, in the absence of the captain-general from that particular island, has its affairs administered by a lieutenant-governor, or the president of the council, most commonly the latter, as it is not often that the lieutenant-governor is on the spot; this appointment, in fact, being nothing more than the grant of a pension of 200*l.* a year, which is paid by the crown. In Jamaica it is seldom that a lieutenant-governor is appointed during the residence on the island of a captain-general, there being no establishment or provision for such an officer holding a dormant commission;

who has therefore neither power nor profit. He is not, as lieutenant-governor, entitled even to a seat in the council. On the resignation, or absence on leave, of the captain-general, a lieutenant-governor, if not present, is frequently sent over, who then succeeds to the supreme command, and receives the full emoluments of the government.*

* The following instance of ministerial economy may amuse, but cannot surprise, my readers in the colonies.—About the year 1767, when the marquis of Lansdowne, then Earl of Shelburne, was Secretary of State, an application was made to his lordship by some gentlemen of Jamaica, then residing in England, for a provision for a lieutenant-governor, who should reside within the island at the same time with the captain-general. The reason assigned was, to prevent a devolution of the government to the president of the council. Lord Shelburne had no other objection to the measure than an unwillingness to saddle either the mother-country or the colony with additional expence.—But finding, among other emoluments of the captain-general, that he derived about 1000*l.* sterling *per annum* from the command of a fortification at Port Royal, called Fort Charles, and conceiving the other appointments of the chief governor to be sufficiently liberal, his lordship stipulated with the next governor, Sir William Trelawney, that he should resign Fort Charles to lieutenant-governor Dalling, on condition of residence. Thus were the wishes of the gentlemen gratified, and a provision made for a lieutenant-governor, without expence either to Great Britain or Jamaica; and, considering withal that Sir William Trelawney was the minister's friend, the conduct of Lord Shelburne in the business was highly commendable, and bore the features of honour.—But mark the

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Mr. Long is of opinion that a president of the council, taking upon him the government on the demise or absence of a governor or lieutenant-governor, cannot legally dissolve the house of assembly, nor issue writs for calling a new one; because he has no express commission from the Sovereign under the great seal of Great Britain, giving authority for that purpose.

THE COUNCIL.

The members of this board are severally appointed by the Royal mandamus, directed to the governor, and countersigned by the secretary of state, and the names of the several members for the time being are inserted in the governor's instructions. In Jamaica their full complement is *twelve:* in some of the smaller islands *ten*: and in case of as many vacancies,

result. In the administration of Lord George Germain, General Dalling, by the demise of Sir William Trelawney, succeeded to the chief command: and the new minister, considering 1000*l.* *per annum* no despicable object, instead of continuing Fort Charles as a provision for a lieutenant-governor, seized on it for his own use, and soon after assigned its profits over to one of his dependants, who has enjoyed it ever since. Thus the island suffers the same inconveniency it complained of before, with the burden of providing 1000*l.* a year for a person who neither resides within the island, nor has any other connection with it; for the fort is generally commanded by his deputy's deputy, with whose very name, it is probable, the principal himself is unacquainted.

by death, absence, or suspension, as reduce the board under *seven*, the governor or commander in chief is empowered to fill up to that number, but no further. Their privileges, powers, and offices, are these:

First. They are by courtesy severally addressed, in the colonies, *Honourable;* they take precedency next to the commander in chief; and on the death or absence of the governor, lieutenant-general, and lieutenant-governor, the eldest member of the council succeeds to the government, under the title of *President*.

Secondly. They are a council of state, the governor or commander in chief presiding in person, to whom they stand in the same relation as the privy-council in Great Britain does to the Sovereign. But although every plantation-governor is directed by his instructions to advise with his council on most occasions, I do not know that, in his executive capacity, he is absolutely bound to abide by their advice. I conceive that he is competent to act, in most cases, not only *without*, but even *against*, their concurrence: he may, it is true, by so doing, incur the king's displeasure; but his proceedings are nevertheless efficient and legal within the colony.

Thirdly. They are named, in every commission of the peace, as justices throughout the colony to which they belong.

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Fourthly. The council, together with the commander in chief, sit as judges in the court of error or court of appeal in civil causes from the courts of record; and in some of the islands two or more of the members sit with the governor in the court of chancery, as assistant commissioners of the great seal, as I have elsewhere related; appeals from chancery therefore lie not before them, but are, by the king's order, avoked before his majesty himself in council.

Fifthly. The council is a constituent part of the legislature; their consent being necessary in the enacting of laws. In this capacity of legislators, they sit as the upper house, and in most of the colonies, distinct from the governor; claim privilege of parliament, order the attendance of persons, and the production of papers and records, and commit for contempts; enter protests on their journals after the manner of the house of peers, and have their chaplain, clerk, usher of the black rod, &c. &c.

It has been thought strange that one and the same body of men should act in two such different capacities and functions, as a privy-council sworn to secrecy and fidelity, and an upper house of legislature; " the admitting such a distinction, says a late governor, may be supposed even to free them from all obligations of the oath they take

as counsellors: because their duty to the people, as legislators, may seem to oblige them very frequently to support opinions repugnant to a governor's schemes."*

But to this it may be answered, that if the governor's schemes are, in the opinion of the council, repugnant to the true interests of the people, their opposition to such schemes cannot be deemed a violation of their oath of fidelity, neither does it necessarily follow that they thereby divulge what they have sworn to keep secret.

It appears to me, that the people at large residing within the colonies, have much more cause of apprehension than their governors, from the existence and exercise of legislative authority, in so unstable a body as the board in question: for although its individual members ought to be, and I believe indeed commonly are, men of weight and property in their respective countries, yet a territorial qualification is not indispensably necessary to their appointment, as in the case of members chosen into the assembly. Persons therefore *may be*, and I am afraid in former times *have been*, nominated to the council, who have no natural concern in the welfare of the colony, no community of interests with its inhabitants, and who consider

* This opinion of Governor Lyttleton is quoted more at large in the History of Jamaica by Mr. Long, vol. i. p. 156.

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themselves wholly at the governor's disposal, and bound to support all his measures, however incompatible with the general good. Again: from the power which the governors assume of arbitrarily inflicting the rod of suspension, the board has not stability sufficient to insure respect to its resolutions. It has neither strength nor independency. Such of the members therefore as have property in the country, may perhaps sometimes find themselves in a more disagreeable predicament than even those who have none; for they may be compelled to vote as a governor shall dictate, in support, possibly of measures ruinous to the community in which all their concerns are centered, or be exposed to the affront of public degradation; to the consequent malignant misconstructions of the vulgar; and perhaps to the contempt of their own minds, in having accepted a station which subjects them to censure, for honestly discharging the duties of it.

I do not indeed know that many great evils have actually been felt by the colonists at large, from the inefficiency and instability of this body. However, as it is the excellency of the British government, not merely to correct existing abuses, but also to obviate and prevent (as far as human foresight will permit) such as may possibly or probably happen; many intelligent persons have been led to controvert the

claim of the council altogether to a participation in the legislature. They deny that this claim derives any just support either from analogy to the constitution of the parent state, from the royal delegation, or from any law of sufficient comprehension and efficacy to warrant such a pretension in a body so constituted.

The principal arguments which have been advanced in support of this opinion, are to this effect.

The peers of Great Britain are hereditary members of the legislature, and sit in parliament for the support of their own great interests and inherent dignity, and as an intermediate body between the crown and the people. In civil process their persons are sacred, and in criminal, they are tried by their own order. Neither can their privileges be taken from them but in extraordinary cases, and then only by the sentence of the whole house, as a court of the highest jurisdiction, or by an act of the whole legislature. The sovereign, it is true, can create as many new peers as he pleases, but having once raised a subject to this high dignity, his privileges thenceforward, as a peer of parliament, are his own; founded, not on royal concessions, but on the ancient fundamental constitution of the realm. Thus, the house of lords forms a separate branch of the legislature, distinct from, and entirely independent of, the

crown on the one hand, and the commons on the other. Now, in all these respects, it is maintained, that a colonial council has no conformity or similitude with, and therefore could not originally have been intended to form a separate estate, and supply in the colonies the place of, the house of peers in Great Britain.

It is contended further, that the power of the crown is not of itself sufficiently extensive to constitute such a legislative branch, or separate estate in the colonies. The king, it is true, has a negative in legislation, but the king has no right to propose a law to, or to alter a law proposed by, the lords or commons. His power is the power of rejecting, and nothing more; which therefore is not so properly a legislative power, as a negative on the legislation of the other branches; a mere defensive privilege to enable him to withstand the encroachments of the legislature, and preserve the government entire. As the king cannot confer on others what he possesses not himself, nothing less than a solemn and precisely declaratory law, proposed by the representatives of the people, and confirmed by the crown, could, it is pretended, have given the shadow of authority to a colonial or provincial council to form themselves into a distinct legislative estate. It follows, that their claim to legislative powers, thus unsupported, is usurpation and tyranny.

These arguments, or arguments to the same effect, are urged with great ability in Mr. Long's History of Jamaica. I shall not attempt to controvert them by elaborate discussion, but content myself with briefly stating the origin, *as it is in fact*, (according to my conception) of the pretensions of this branch to a distinct share in colonial legislation. If it be shewn that the exercise of these pretensions may, on several occasions, be absolutely necessary to the welfare and safety of the community, a very few words will suffice on the question of their constitutional legality.

That it was originally intended to establish in any of the colonial governments *three* distinct independent legislative powers acting on the spot, in the view of forming constitutions on the model of England, I do not however believe; because, while the crown retains its necessary and constitutional right of disannulling all acts of the provincial legislatures, and while the privilege of giving a negative is likewise exercised by its governors in the colonies, independent of the council, there are *four* distinct estates, instead of *three*. The case seems to have been, that there being no order of hereditary nobility in the plantations, out of which to constitute a dignified and efficient intermediate body, like the peers of England and Ireland, a legislative authority was at an early period entrusted to the governors and their council,

acting conjointly, and forming a middle branch between the crown on the one hand, and the representatives of the people on the other. The presence and concurrence of the governor were probably thought advisable, in the view that the interests of the crown might generally preponderate; while by selecting the members of the council from men of the first consequence in each colony, it was perhaps conceived that a salutary check was contrived against those abuses to which power, in the best hands, is sometimes liable; and on this plan the colonies possessed the semblance, at least, of an English legislative constitution.*

That such was the first intention in the formation of all or most of the king's governments in the plantations (imperfect as the system confessedly is, from the instability of the council) appears from the instance of Barbadoes, where this arrangement still exists; the governor and council, in matters of legislation, constituting, not *two* separate and distinct bodies, independent of each other, but *one* constituent branch only, sitting and deliberating together.—And such too, for some years, was the practice of

* Every governor is expressly instructed to transmit from time to time to his Majesty the names of such of the principal inhabitants as are best qualified to supply vacancies in the council, and it is rarely that any person is appointed who is not previously recommended by the governor.

Jamaica, and I believe of all or most of the rest of the royal governments; but as it sometimes became necessary to reject popular bills, the governor, to divert the displeasure of the assembly from himself to the council, declined by degrees attending on such occasions; leaving it to the board to settle matters with the assembly as they could, without his interference. The council concurred, readily enough, in the governor's views, because his absence removing a restraint, gave them the semblance of a distinct independent estate; and the crown perceiving the utility and advantage of the measure, confirmed and established the practice by degrees in most of the royal governments throughout the British plantations. If the people's representatives had considered this exclusive interposition of the council as an innovation, *then* was their time to have opposed it; but it has not appeared to me that the assembly of any one colony, at any one period, denied a right in the council to negative bills in the first instance, without the governor's consent or participation. Now the right in the council to reject bills altogether in the first instance, necessarily comprehends the privilege of offering amendments to particular clauses, (money bills are always, and very properly, excepted) the exercise of which privilege is in truth nothing more than an offer of compromise between the council and assembly. The

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former may say, "we propose such and such amendments; adopt them, or we use our power of rejection." And this I take to be the plain origin and actual rise of the privileges enjoyed, I believe, by the council-board in every British colony in the West Indies (Barbadoes excepted) of deliberating apart from the governor on all bills sent up by the assembly; of proposing amendments to such bills, and of rejecting altogether, and without any participation with the governor, such of them as they disapprove. Further than this, I do not know that the legislative authority of the council extends, and I have no hesitation in pronouncing the exercise of *such* an authority, when enforced freely and independently, a most necessary and useful expedient, tending to prevent violent and mischievous disputes between the delegates of the people and the representative of the crown. Its origin may have been illegitimate; but its adoption in the colonies for a century at least, and recognition by the crown, have given it such a prescriptive establishment, as I conceive constitutes law.*

* In truth the colonies gained a very important acquisition by this separation of the governor and council from each other in matters of legislation; for, obtaining by this means the semblance of three distinct estates, it enabled them the more easily to secure the privilege which they claimed, that their laws should be immediately in force as soon as consented to by the governor, without waiting for the royal confirmation.

After all, the objections which have been made to the present constitution of this body, arising from its want of sufficient stability and independence, are of an important and serious nature. Men are very unfit for legislators, whose deliberations are liable to be biassed by external and improper influence. If, on some occasions, they are instruments of good, on others they may prove instruments of great evil. Yet I am willing to hope that even this inconvenience might find its remedy, if the colonial assemblies would take the subject into serious and temperate consideration. Were it required by law that no person should be appointed of the council who was not possessed of a landed estate within the colony to some given value, as an indispensable qualification, so that the private interests of the members might be blended with those of every other citizen, and were the terrors of suspension, which, like the sword of Damocles, hangs but by a thread, removed from them, they would become a respectable and most useful body.* At the same time,

* There arises, however, some difficulty in considering this point. While the council are liable to be suspended at the will of an arbitrary and capricious governor (and I remember an instance in Jamaica, of seven members being suspended in one day, on a very frivolous pretence) their authority is very lightly regarded, and sometimes they are even treated with contempt and insult. On the other hand, if they were appointed *for life*, they might, in their legisla-

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it will behove the representatives of the people in an especial manner, to keep in their own hands. undiminished and unimpaired, as a sacred deposit, the great and exclusive privilege of granting or withholding the supplies. If the council, independent of the governor and the people, shall once possess themselves of the smallest share in this most important of all popular rights, they will become from that moment a standing senate, and an insolent aristocracy.

tive capacity, become formidable both to the king's representative and the people. They might obstruct the supplies for no better reason than to get a new governor. I am of opinion, therefore, that they should still be amoveable, but, in order to give them greater weight than they possess at present, they should be moveable only by the king's express order, in consequence of a joint address from the commander in chief and the house of assembly. Their present constitution certainly requires some correction and amendment: the more so, as in some of the colonies they have set up pretensions of a very wide and extraordinary nature. They have, at different times, claimed and exercised the power of arbitrarily imprisoning for contempt, and formerly even for fines laid by their own authority. They have claimed a right of originating public bills at their board, and even of amending money bills passed by the assembly They have also claimed the right of appropriating the public revenue, &c. &c. All these, and other pretensions, are equally inconsistent with their original appointment of a *council of assistants*, to the governor, and with the tenure by which they at present exist, and ought to be constantly and firmly resisted by the people's representatives.

CHAPTER II.*

Houses of Assembly.—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of establishing in the Colonies Constitutions less free than that of Great Britain. —Most of the British West Indian Islands settled by Emigrants from the Mother Country. —Royal Proclamations and Charters, Confirmations only of ancient Rights.—Barbadoes, and some other Islands, originally made Counties Palatine.—Their local Legislatures how constituted, and the Extent of their Jurisdiction pointed out.—Their Allegiance to, and Dependance on, the Crown of Great Britain how secured.—Constitutional Extent of Parliamentary Authority over them.

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In treating of the assemblies, or popular branch in the local system of colonial administration, I shall first attempt to investigate the origin of

* In this chapter, the nature and necessary uniformity of my work compel me to tread over a field wherein the footsteps of a great many preceding writers are still visible. I presume not therefore to fancy that I can produce many new arguments myself, or give additional weight to those which have been advanced by others, on subjects so well understood, and so frequently and freely canvassed during the late unhappy disputes with America. My aim will be answered, if, instead of originality and novelty, I am found to possess perspicuity and precision. Happily, the great rights of mankind are sufficiently apparent, without the aid of logical deduction, and abstracted hypothesis.

the claim of the colonists to legislate for themselves, by means of those assemblies, and to display the principles on which this claim was confirmed by the mother-country. Afterwards I shall inquire by what means their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and profitable subordination to the British parliament, are secured and maintained.

From the arguments that have been urged in the latter part of the preceding chapter concerning a prerogative in the crown to invest the colonial council-boards with some share of legislative authority, I trust it will not follow that the English constitution has at any time lodged in the king the still greater prerogative of establishing in the British dependencies, such a form and system of government as his Majesty shall think best. It is surely one thing to say, that the crown may introduce into the plantations such checks and controuls as are congenial to those institutions by which freedom is best secured in the mother-country, and another to aver that the crown may withhold from the colonies the enjoyment of freedom altogether. Nevertheless, were the maxim well-founded, that the prerogative of the crown in arranging the system of colonial establishments is unlimited, no conclusion could be drawn from it, that would impeach, in the smallest degree, the claim of the British colonists in America to a British constitution; inasmuch

as the representing the whole nation, has repeatedly recognized in the first settlers and their posterity, by various solemn grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, the same liberties, privileges, and immunities, which are possessed and enjoyed by their fellow-subjects remaining in Great Britain.

I do not, indeed, know that those grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, were essentially necessary to freedom; for if, as I presume I have sufficiently demonstrated on a former occasion,* even a conquered state, retaining its ancient inhabitants, no sooner becomes ceded to Great Britain, than it is assimilated to its government, and imbibes the spirit of its free constitution;---if this, as I contend, is the law of England, it requires but little argument to prove that English subjects, whether settling in countries which their valour has annexed to the British dominion, or emigrating for the purpose of forming plantations on vacant or derelict lands, are entitled *of right*, so long as they preserve their allegiance, to at least an equal degree of national protection, with adopted aliens and vanquished enemies. Some of our possessions in America and the West Indies (Jamaica in particular, as we have seen) were obtained by the forces of the state; the individuals of which became proprie-

* Book III. c. 2.

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tors of the country which they had conquered. Other countries, as Barbadoes and Antigua, were found vacant and unoccupied, and were made valuable appendages to Great Britain, by the enterprising spirit, and at the sole expense of a few private adventurers. Even where the lands were forcibly taken from the ancient Indian inhabitants, though nothing can sanctify injustice, yet the English title is unimpeachable by any other European power; and the English nation has received the benefit of the enterprize. Shall it then (to use an excellent and unanswerable argument of Mr. Long on this subject,* shall it be affirmed 'that if English forces conquer, or 'English adventurers possess themselves of dis-'tant lands, and thereby extend the empire, and 'add to the trade and opulence of England; the 'Englishmen so possessing and planting such ter-'ritory, ought, in consideration of the great ser-'vices thereby effected to their nation, to be 'treated worse than aliens, to forfeit all rights 'of English subjects, and be left to the mercy of 'an absolute and arbitrary form of government?' Nothing surely can equal the absurdity of so savage a doctrine!†

* Hist. Jamaica.

† "Let us consider (says Mr. Locke) a conqueror in a lawful war, and see what power he gets, and over whom.

"First, he gets no power by his conquest over those that

Considering therefore the further discussion of this point as superfluous, I come to the conclu- CHAP. II.

conquered with him. They that fought on his side cannot suffer by the conquest, but must at least be as much freemen as they were before. And most commonly, they serve upon terms, and on condition to share with their leader, and enjoy a part of the spoil, and other advantages that attend the conquering sword: or, at least, have a part of the subdued country bestowed upon them. And the conquering people are not, I hope, to be slaves by conquest, and wear their laurels only to shew they are sacrifices to their leader's triumph. We are told by some, that the English monarchy is founded in the Norman conquest, and that our princes have thereby a title to absolute dominion; which, if it were true (as by history it appears otherwise) and that William had a right to make war on this island, yet his dominion by conquest could reach no farther than to the Saxons and Britons that were then inhabitants of this country. The Normans that came with him, and helped the conqueror, and all descended from them, are freemen, and not subjects by conquest; let that give what dominion it will."

So far Mr. Locke—His friend and correspondent Mr. Mollyneux, of Dublin, in his Treatise of the case of Ireland's being bound by English acts of parliament, repeats the same argument, and illustrates it as follows. "Supposing (he observes) that Henry II. had a right to invade Ireland, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the ancient race of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britons, that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of free-born subjects; they, and their descendants, could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious; for so, the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish."

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sion which necessarily results from the premises, and it appears to me to be clear and uncontrovertible, that the royal proclamations and charters which guaranteed and confirmed to the first planters emigrating to America and the West Indies, all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens remaining within the kingdom, were, and were meant to be, *declaratory only of ancient rights; not creative of new privileges.* They were nothing more than royal recognitions, expressive of a reciprocal relation between the sovereign and his subjects, notwithstanding their removal conveying the consent of the king, as head and representative of the English state, to their emigration; and assuring them, expressly, or by evident implication, so long as they preserved their allegiance, the full and undisturbed enjoyment of those inherent rights, which no climate nor compact can take away or diminish.

Such, I conceive, was the ground on which the first English colonists claimed, amongst other rights, the great and important one of assenting to all laws by which they were to be bound; or, to speak somewhat more suitably to the actual situation of the people of England, of being bound by such laws only, as in their operation, should extend to, *and bind the governors equally with the governed; the framers*

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*equally with all the rest of the kingdom:** and hence, the establishment in all the British provinces of North America, and islands of the West Indies, of assemblies, or houses of representatives, which, being freely chosen by the people, forming a part of, and living among the people, and occasionally to be resolved into the general mass, must necessarily participate, with a tender interest, in every thing that concerns the people.

Perhaps, instead of confirming to the colonists this liberal system of self-government, it was, or might have been, contended on the part of the crown, that the permission of returning representatives to the British parliament was all that on their own principles, they could pretend to claim; and the examples of Durham and Chester might have been adduced in support of this argument. Those counties being

* By the principles of the British constitution, every man should be represented; but the deviation from a rule too nice for practice is safely borne, because the interest of every particular member of parliament stands as a pledge, that no individual in the kingdom can be oppressed. In other words, the great security which the people of Great Britain have, that their representatives shall not abuse their trust, is, *that they cannot impose on others what they are not to feel themselves.* 'If an act of parliament was made (says judge Hobart) constituting a man a judge in his own cause, it would be void by the law of nature.' See an excellent speech of George Johnstone, Esquire, in the Parliamentary Debates for 1775, wherein this argument is enforced.

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counties palatine, had complained, that, "for lack of knights and burgesses, they were touched and grieved with acts and statutes made within the court of parliament;" and they pleaded that all acts and statutes so made, "were derogatory unto their most ancient jurisdictions, liberties and privileges." Their plea was allowed, and parliamentary representation granted them. It is observable too, that Barbadoes and the Charaibean islands, as well as some provinces of North America, were at first created into counties palatine, expressly after the model of Durham. But the king and parliament probably thought, what all who duly consider the subject must *now* think, that a parliamentary union with a kingdom three thousand miles distant, was impracticable to any good purpose. It is most certain, that the British parliament, from first to last, consented that the king should govern his subjects in America (so far at least as related to their own internal concerns) as he governed his subjects in Ireland, by parliaments of their own. Nor, if the election of representatives is "an original right, vested in, and inseparable from, the freehold," as it hath been pronounced by the highest authority;* and if the impracticability of the colonist being adequately represented in the British legislature be admitted, could such a consent be withheld

* Lord Chief Justice Holt.

from them on any principle of reason and justice; unless indeed it be reasonable and just to contend, that the colonists, as having from their remote situation, need of *greater* protection than their fellow-subjects at home, are on that account entitled to *less*.

Provincial parliaments, or colonial assemblies (it matters not by what name they are called) being thus established and recognized, we shall find that in their formation, mode of proceeding, and extent of jurisdiction within their own circle, they have constantly copied, and are required to copy, as nearly as circumstances will permit, the example of the parliament of Great Britain. The freeholders are assembled in each town or parish respectively by the king's writ; their suffrages are taken by an officer of the crown, and the persons elected are afterwards commanded, by royal proclamation, to meet together at a certain time and place in the proclamation named, to frame statutes and ordinances for the public safety. When met, the oaths of allegiance, &c. are administered unto each of them; and a speaker being chosen and approved, the session opens by a speech from the king's representative. The assembly then proceed, as a grand provincial inquest, to hear grievances, and to correct such public abuses as are not cognizable before inferior tribunals.—They

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commit for contempts, and the courts of law have refused, after solemn argument, to discharge persons committed by the speaker's warrant.—They examine and controul the accounts of the public treasurer;—they vote such supplies, lay such taxes, and frame such laws, statutes, and ordinances, as the exigencies of the province or colony require.—Jointly with the governor and council, they exercise the highest acts of legislation; for their penal laws, which the judges are sworn to execute, extend even to life; many persons having suffered death under laws passed in the colonies, even before they had received the royal assent. On the whole, subject to the restriction that their trade-laws are not repugnant to those of Great Britain, there are no concerns of a local and provincial nature, to which the authority of the colonial laws does not extend.*

* The following account of the proceedings of the legislature of Jamaica in 1766, while it illustrates this part of my subject, cannot fail to prove highly interesting to every inhabitant of the British colonies.

'To his honour ROGER HOPE ELLETSON, Esquire, his majesty's lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief, in and over this his majesty's island of Jamaica, &c. &c.

'May it please your Honour,

'We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the 'assembly of Jamaica, thoroughly convinced of your ho-

This restriction was intended probably as an auxiliary to other means for preserving the unity

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'nour's readiness to hear, and inclination to redress, as much 'as in you lies, every grievance that may affect any of his 'majesty's subjects, beg leave to represent to you one which 'calls aloud for immediate relief, it being in itself of the 'most dangerous and alarming nature, and having already 'given birth to such confusions and distractions in this 'unhappy country, as have not at any time before been 'known in it.

'Our ancestors, Sir, who settled this British colony, were 'Englishmen, and brought with them a right to the laws of 'England as their inheritance, which they did not, nor could 'forfeit by settling here. Ever since civil government was 'first established among us, which was very soon after the 'restoration of king Charles the Second, we have enjoyed 'in this colony a constitution and form of government as 'nearly resembling that of our mother-country as it was per-'haps possible to make it; our lives, our liberties, and our 'properties, secured to us by the same laws, have ever been 'determined and adjudged by similar jurisdictions, and such 'moneys as have been necessary for the support of his ma-'jesty's government here, have, as in England, ever been rais-'ed upon the people with their own consent given by their 'representatives in assembly; our courts of justice, where 'life, liberty, and property are adjudged, are governed by 'the same laws, and stand in the same degrees of subordi-'nation to one another, as the courts which they respec-'tively stand for, do in England; our house of assembly, 'as representing the whole body of our people, does and 'ever did hold the same rank in the system of our consti-'tution, as the house of commons does in that of our mo-'ther-country; here, as in England, our representatives in 'assembly are the grand inquest of our community; they 'have the power, and it is their duty, to inquire into the 'corruptions of office, the abuses of government, and the ill

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of the empire, and maintaining the superintending and controuling power of the mother-

'administration of justice, and for that purpose it is that 'this body has here, as in our mother-country, ever en-'joyed a superiority over all the courts of justice, and a 'power of examining their conduct; and all judges, ma-'gistrates, and public officers, have ever been amenable 'to the assembly, and their conduct liable to its inspection; 'and here, as in England, we owe it to the wholesome and 'frequent exertions of such a power in the representative 'body of the people, that we are at this day a free people; 'without it we can have no security or defence against the 'corruption of judges, and the abuses which may happen 'in every department of administration.

'It is against a most flagrant, unprovoked, and unpre-'cedented attack and violation which Mr. Lyttelton, our 'late chancellor, made upon this indubitable right of the 'people, that we now resort to your honour for redress.

'In December 1764, Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil, 'two men who had been committed by the assembly for 'breach of privilege, and were in custody of Edward Bolt, 'the messenger of the house, by virtue of the speaker's 'warrant, did, in contempt of the power and jurisdiction of 'the house, apply in the first instance to Mr. Lyttelton as 'chancellor, for writs of habeas-corpus upon the statute 'of the thirty-first of Charles the Second, and upon the re-'turn of the said writs, he did, in a court of Chancery which 'he called for that purpose, release the prisoners, and de-'clare as follows: "That it did not appear to him from the "words of any act of parliament, or of any act of the go-"vernor, council, and assembly of this island, or of his "majesty's commission or instructions to his excellency as "governor of this island, or by any other means whatso-"ever, that the commitment of the said Pierce Cooke into "the custody of the said Edward Bolt is legal; and his "excellency the chancellor was therefore pleased to order,

country in matters of trade; but it implies also a reciprocal engagement or obligation on the part

" adjudge, and decree, and it is hereby ordered, adjudged, " and decreed, That the said Pierce Cooke be, by the au- " thority of this court, released and discharged from the " custody of the said Edward Bolt; and did also make " the same declaration and orders as to the said Lachlan " M'Neil," which orders and declarations of his, he did ' most irregularly call decrees, and order them to be en- ' rolled among the records of the court of Chancery.

' It is evident from the opinions of the ablest lawyers in ' England, ever since the passing of that statute, from the opi- ' nions and declarations of judges, the uniform determina- ' tions of all the courts in England, and the constant decla- ' rations and practice of the house of commons, that the said ' statute was not, nor could be, intended to extend to com- ' mitments by either house of parliament, and that the house ' of commons is the only proper judge of its own privileges ' and commitments; this determination of Mr. Lyttelton's ' tends, therefore, manifestly to degrade the representatives ' of the people, in the system of our constitution, from that ' rank and authority which is held by the like body in our ' mother-country, and if suffered to remain, would subvert ' the fundamentals of that system, by giving the court of ' chancery a power to controul the proceedings of the assem- ' bly, and by reducing them to a dangerous and unconstitu- ' tional dependance upon governors, would leave the people ' without that protection against arbitrary power, which no- ' thing but a free and independent assembly can give them.

' Every court of justice, from the meanest quarter ses- ' sion up to the two houses of parliament, has a power of ' committing for contempt, and this power requires no act ' of parliament to confer it, it being incident to the insti- ' tution of every court of justice, and necessary for its ex- ' istence, for it would be impossible to support any autho- ' rity without it.

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of the British parliament, not to interpose its authority in matters to which the colonial assem-

'The courts of justice here, standing in the same degrees 'of subordination to one another, as they respectively do in 'England; commitments by the inferior, may be, and fre-'quently are, examined and determined by the superior 'courts; and as commitments by the house of commons 'cannot be, nor ever were, discharged by any of the inferior 'courts, so this extraordinary act of Mr. Lyttelton stands 'in our country without a precedent, such a thing having 'never before his time been attempted.

'The power of commitment by the house of commons 'is their's by the common law, as well as their privileges, 'of which they are the only competent judges, for they 'judge of these matters by the law and usage of parliament, 'which is part of the common law.

'As all the inferior courts here enjoy and exercise the 'same powers with those they stand for in England, it is 'surely reasonable and just that the representatives of the 'people here, called by the same authority, and constituted 'for the same ends, should also enjoy the same powers 'with those of Great Britain.

'We beg leave to represent further to your honour, that 'by the thirty-first clause of an act of the governor, council, 'and assembly of this island, intituled, "An act for grant-"ing a revenue to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for "the support of the government of this island, and for re-"viving and perpetuating the acts and laws thereof," which 'has received the royal approbation, it is declared "That "all such laws and statutes of England as have been at any "time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as "laws in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and "continue laws of this his majesty's island of Jamaica for "ever;" and that the assemblies of Jamaica, as appears by 'their minutes, considering it their duty to assimilate their 'proceedings to those of the house of commons, have con-'stantly governed themselves in cases of commitment, and

blies are sufficiently competent. With powers so extensive and efficient, these assemblies must

'in the exercise of their jurisdiction, by the law and usage of 'parliament, which being undoubtedly part of the law of 'England, the use and benefit thereof was confirmed to them 'by virtue of the above act beyond a possibility of doubt.

'This arbitrary measure of Mr. Lyttelton, so totally un-'precedented either in England or here, so repugnant to 'reason, to justice, and law, and so evidently subversive 'of our rights, liberties, and properties, will therefore, we 'doubt not, be considered by your honour as it deserves to 'be; and as it marks that gentleman's administration with 'the most odious colours, so, we trust, that the destruc-'tion of it will distinguish and adorn your's.

'It is in full confidence of your honour's justice and love 'of liberty, that we this day, in the name and behalf of our-'selves, and of all the good people in this colony, lay before 'your honour the ill consequences and injustice of the afore-'said determination, and beseech you, as the only means 'of quieting the disturbance and apprehensions they have 'raised in the minds of his majesty's most loyal and faith-'ful subjects, to give orders that the same be vacated, and 'the enrolment thereof cancelled from the records of the 'court of Chancery, in such a way, that no traces may 'remain of so wicked and dangerous a precedent.'

The preceding application from the house of assembly having been submitted by the lieutenant-governor to the council for their advice, the board addressed him as follows:

'May it please your Honour,

'We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the 'council of Jamaica, have, agreeably to your honour's 'message, laying before us the address of the house of as-'sembly to your honour, taken into our serious consideration 'the subject-matter thereof: we have also examined and con-'sidered the proceedings now in the office of the register of 'the court of Chancery, and the determination of his excel-'lency the late chancellor, touching the release of Pieree

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necessarily be sovereign and supreme within their own jurisdiction; unobstructed by, and

'Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil, from a commitment of the 'assembly. Although we have the most favourable opi- 'nion of the late chancellor's intention in that decision, yet 'finding that no chancellor or judge in this island, ever 'before took upon himself to make any determination upon 'a warrant or commitment of either branch of the legisla- 'ture, it is with concern we observe, that such proceeding 'of the late chancellor in so new, in so delicate a case, by 'discharging the said Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil 'from the commitment of the house of assembly, was un- 'precedented and irregular.

'It is also with sorrow of heart we have seen and felt 'this his majesty's colony, ever since that determination, 'labouring under a variety of distresses, flowing chiefly 'from the apprehensions of his majesty's subjects, that the 'establishing a precedent of this nature in the court of 'Chancery, might lay a foundation for chancellors and 'judges of inferior courts to interfere in, and to take upon 'them to determine on the privileges of the legislative 'bodies of this island.

'Permit us therefore to recommend it to your honour, as 'the only expedient which we conceive will be effectual to 'quiet the minds of the people, to unite the several branches 'of the legislature, and to restore peace and tranquillity to 'this country, that you will be pleased to cause the said 'determination made by the late chancellor, whereby the 'said Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil were discharged 'from their commitment, and all their proceedings thereon, 'to be brought before you, and in the presence of the coun- 'cil and assembly, that you will be pleased to cause the 'register of the said court of Chancery to enter a vacatur 'on the said determination, or otherwise reverse it in the 'most effectual manner, so that the same may not be 'made use of as a precedent in future.'

independent of, all controul from without; for nothing can be more absurd than to sup- CHAP II.

On receiving this address, the lieutenant-governor came into council, and having commanded the attendance of the Assembly in the council-chamber, was pleased to make the following speech:

'Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,

'In consequence of the addresses I have received from each of your bodies, I now meet you here, and as the determination upon record in the office of the register of the court of chancery, appears to have been irregular and unprecedented, whereby the minds of the people have been greatly disquieted, and many distresses and evils have arisen to this country; and having nothing so much at heart, as the supporting the honour and dignity of the crown, and promoting the peace and happiness of the people, I have agreeably to your requests, taken, as chancellor, such order therein, that the said proceedings, and the entry upon record thereof, are vacated, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and for your further satisfaction herein, I have ordered the register to attend forthwith in the council-chamber with the said proceedings, and the book of records in which the same are entered, and that he do, in presence of the three branches of the legislature of this island, enter a vacatur in the margent of the said several proceedings, and the entries of the same in the said book of records, and that he do in your presence draw cross lines over the said proceedings and the entries thereof in the usual form and manner.

'This measure, adopted upon your united recommendation, cannot, I am persuaded, fail of producing every happy consequence, by restoring and firmly establishing that harmony and unanimity so earnestly wished for, and so essentially necessary to his majesty's service, and the welfare of this community.'

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pose, that a people can be subject to the different legislatures exercising at the same time equal powers, yet not communicating with each other, nor, from their situation, capable of being privy to each other's proceedings.

The register of the court of Chancery attending, being called in, and having produced the records, and read the several proceedings in the said address mentioned, he did then, by the command, and in the presence of his honour, and in the presence of the council and assembly, enter a vacatur in the margin of the said several proceedings, and draw cross lines over the said proceedings, and the entries thereof, and cancelled the several papers relating thereto.

*** It was after a long and arduous struggle that the people of Jamaica obtained this great victory; no less than five different assemblies having been called, and abruptly dissolved, because they refused to raise the supplies, unless satisfaction was given them in this business. At length, on a change of ministers in Great Britain, the governor (Mr. Lyttelton) desired to be recalled, and the lieutenant-governor was directed to comply with their wishes, in the manner we have seen.

The author of this work was one of a small minority in the house of assembly that supported the administration of Mr. Lyttelton, whose abilities and virtues were acknowledged even by his enemies; yet is he free to confess, that, being present when the proceedings in chancery were solemnly annulled and vacated in the manner related, in the presence of a thousand spectators, he could not but participate in the general triumph and enthusiasm which prevailed on that occasion amongst all ranks of people. The towns were splendidly illuminated, the shipping in the ports were dressed in their gayest colours, and such joy and satisfaction appeared in every countenance, as we may imagine were displayed by the English Barons on receiving *magna charta* from the reluctant hand of king John.

It has, I know, been urged, that the principles I have thus laid down, and the rights which I have allotted to the inhabitants of the British colonies, tend immediately to sovereign and national empire, distinct from, and independent of, the government of the parent state. It will be found, however, that the dependency of the colonies on, their allegiance to, the crown of Great Britain, and also their proper subordination to the British parliament, are secured by sufficient ties, regulations, and restraints; some of which seem at first inconsistent even with the premises I have stated. Thus, as to the supremacy of the crown: among various other prerogatives, the king reserves to himself, not only the nomination of the several governors, the members of the council, and most of the public offices of all descriptions,* but he possesses also at the same time, as we have seen, the right of disallowing and rejecting all laws and statutes of the colonial assemblies, even after they had received the assent and approbation of his own lieutenant in the colony. Hence, the affirmative

* This is spoken of those colonies which are called king's governments; for, before the late civil war, the governor, in a proprietary government, was named by the proprietor, subject to the restrictions contained in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. §. 6. and in two of the charter provinces of North America, all the officers, except those of the admiralty and customs, were chosen by the people.

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voice of the people in their representatives is opposed by three negatives; the first in the council, the second in the governor, and the third in the crown; which possesses likewise the power of punishing the two former branches by dismission, if they presume to act in opposition to the royal pleasure.

Nor is the legal authority less efficient and extensive over the executive power within the colonies, than over the legislative. The governor, as I have shewn, is commonly chancellor by his office; but whether assisted by his council, or presiding solely in this high department, an appeal lies to the king in council, in the nature of a writ of error, from every decree that he makes: and the like liberty of appeal is allowed from the judgment or sentence of the governor in council, sitting as a court of error.* The reason assigned in law authorities for allowing such appeals is this:—That without them, the rules and practice of

* It is necessary however in either court, First, That in cases of property the matter in dispute should be to the value of 500*l.* sterling, to be ascertained by affidavit. Secondly, That the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment in the court of error, and within one month after the determination of the court of chancery, by giving security for the prosecution of it; and it is required by the lords of appeal in England, that the party appealing must proceed within twelve months after the appeal is allowed in the plantations, or the appeal is dismissed of course. A cause cannot be transmitted for difficulty, but must be determined one way or other.

law in the colonies might by degrees insensibly deviate from those of the mother-country, to the diminution of her superiority.*

Again: the king, as presumed head of the empire, has the sole prerogative of making peace and war, treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign states; and the colonists are as fully bound by, and subject to, the consequences thereof, as the inhabitants within the realm. So far readily admitted; but another claim of the crown, supposed to result from the prerogative last mentioned,—I mean, that of regulating all the colonial military establishments both by sea and land, quartering troops in such towns and places in the plantations as the king sees best, augmenting them at pleasure, and retaining them in the colonies at all times and at all seasons, as well in peace as in war, not only without, but against the consent of their assemblies, must be admitted with some limitation.

It is indeed asserted in all our law-books, that the sole supreme command and government of all the forces by sea and land, and of all sorts and places in all parts of the British dominions, ever was, constitutionally and legally, the undoubted and exclusive prerogative of the crown; but, against the abuses which might possibly result from the exercise of a power

* Vaughan's Reports, 402. Show. Parl. C. 33.

thus extensive and dictatorial, the subjects residing within the realm have this security, that their representatives retain in their own hands the means of supporting all the British forces, both maritime and military. Thus, though the king has the prerogative of commanding armies and equipping fleets, yet without the concurrence of parliament he cannot maintain them. He can declare war, but without the assistance of parliament he cannot carry it on. The royal prerogative in these respects is aptly compared by De Lolme to a ship completely equipped, but which the parliament, by drawing off the water, can at pleasure leave aground.

It seems therefore naturally and necessarily to follow, that if the inhabitants of the colonies are intitled to the same rights, and to have equal securities for those rights, as are enjoyed by their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, there must exist some restraint against the exorbitance and abuse of the power contended for in the present case. It is to little purpose to tell the colonists, when groaning under the pressure of military government, that no military force, however legally raised and maintained, can be lawfully employed to violate their rights; as whoever holds the sword will decide upon the question of law.*

* It is observable, that this claim in the crown was admitted to be a grievance by the commissioners appointed, in April, 1778, for restoring peace in America. In a letter

To as little purpose may our remaining colonies be told, that the parliament of Great Britain will never suffer a precedent of arbitrary power to be established in any part of the British dominions. They will probably insist, that the British parliament is not competent to judge for *them*—at least in the first instance. They may contend that those who feel, or are in danger of feeling oppression, can best determine when it may be proper to resist its attack, or to guard against its approach.

It cannot however be denied, that if parliament should be apprised that the just authority of the crown over the colonies has degenerated into tyranny, it is not only their right, but their duty to interpose, even on their own account; for it has been well and eloquently said, that whenever the liberties of Great Britain shall be devoted, it is probable her dissolution will not begin in the centre: *she will feel subjection, like the coldness of death, creeping upon her from her extremities.*

Having thus pointed out some remarkable instances of colonial subordination to the king,

from the earl of Carlisle, Messieurs Eden and Johnstone, three of the said commissioners, to the president of the congress, dated the 9th of June 1778, they declare a disposition to concur in such an arrangement as should provide that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

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as the sovereign head and supreme executive in the government of Great Britain and its dominions, I shall proceed to another inquiry, of no less importance (and to which indeed some of the last observations naturally lead) and that is, how far the joint authority and collective power of king, lords, and commons, constitutionally extend, and, on the principles of a free government, ought to be exercised in supporting the unity of the empire, and preserving that subordination and dependence which the colonists, as fellow-subjects with the inhabitants of the kingdom, owe to Great Britain and its government, in return for protection received.

It is a maxim maintained by political writers, that in all societies there must exist somewhere an absolute and despotic jurisdiction, unlimited and irrevocable. "This *absolute* and *despotic* power (says Judge Blackstone) is, by the British constitution, *entrusted* to parliament." But I conceive that the learned judge has not expressed himself on this occasion with his usual accuracy; inasmuch as all "*entrusted*" authority is necessarily *accountable*, and therefore not "*absolute* and *despotic*." The truth is, that this despotic and unlimited power is reserved by the people in their own hands (not to be resorted to indeed but in the last extremity) and it never was the intention of any society of free agents, from the creation of the

world to this day, to delegate to any man, or body of men, an absolute and despotic authority in all cases over them. Such a delegation indeed, if ever it had been made, would have manifested insanity in the agents, and, on that account alone, must have been void from the beginning.

As the legislative power of Great Britain therefore is supreme only in a relative sense, even within the realm, where the people themselves participate in its authority, much less can it be said to be supreme, *in all cases whatsoever*, over the colonies. It has indeed been solemnly declared *by parliament itself, that parliament has such a power:* but if parliament had not the power before, certainly their own declaration could not invest them with it.

Considering the constituent branches of the British legislature separately, it will be difficult to point out any just authority whatever, existing either in the peers or the representatives of the people, over the colonies. We have seen that the first settlers in most of the British plantations, were a part of the English people, in every respect equal to them, and possessed of every right and privilege at the time of their emigration, which the people of England were possessed of, and irrefragably to that great right of consenting to all laws by which they were to be governed. The people of England

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therefore, or their representatives, having no rights, powers, or privileges to bestow on the emigrants, which the latter were not already possessed of equally with themselves, had no claim to their allegiance, or any pretence to exercise authority over them.

As to the English peers, they are possessed of very eminent privileges; from none of which however can they communicate any advantage to the colonies. They are a court of justice in the dernier ressort for all appeals from the people of Great Britain; but they act in no such capacity for the inhabitants of the colonies; the house of peers having never heard or determined causes in appeal from the plantations, in which it ever was, and is, their duty to serve the subjects within the realm.

Thus, incapable from their situation of being admitted to a participation with the people and peers of Great Britain in the British legislature, the colonists have legislatures of their own, which are subject to the king of Great Britain, as to their own proper head. The person, who, by the laws of Great Britain, is king of Great Britain, is *their* king; but they owe no allegiance to the lords and commons; to whom they are not subjects, but *fellow* subjects with them to the same sovereign.

Justly considering, nevertheless, the protec-

tion which they receive in the name of the sovereign, *as afforded by the state*, and that the colonies are parts of one great empire, of the various branches of which the king in parliament is arbiter, controuling and regulating all intercourse with foreign nations, they readily admit that they stand towards the British legislature in the degree of subordination, which implies every authority in the latter, essential to the preservation of the *whole*; and to the maintenance of the relation between a mother-country and her colonies. "We are (said the Americans) but parts of a *whole*, and therefore there must exist a power somewhere, to preside and preserve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the British parliament." In all matters therefore, to which the local jurisdiction of any one particular colony is not competent, the superintending controul of Great Britain is necessarily admitted; and they likewise admit that each and all the colonies owe contribution for protection.*

* The nature and extent of the subordination here contended for, was clearly understood, and is well explained, in the case of Ireland, by Davenant, in a treatise published by him soon after the Revolution.—His words are these:

"The inhabitants of Ireland, from ancient concessions, have a privilege perhaps above the Roman colonies, namely, to tax themselves by their own suffrages, within their own limits; but this is no more than what is claimed by several provinces of France, which nevertheless account themselves subordinate to the sovereign power of the whole state.

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To ascertain the various contingencies and circumstances wherein, on the principles stated, the British legislature has, and has not, a right to interpose, is perhaps impossible; because circumstances may occur to render its interposition necessary, which cannot be foreseen. "But al- "though it may be difficult (says governor "Pownall) to draw the line of limitation, yet "some such line there certainly must be, and I "think those are not to be heard who affirm, "that no line can be drawn between the supreme "authority of parliament, and no authority "at all."

Nevertheless, it were not difficult to point out many cases, and to imagine others, wherein the authority of parliament has been, and may

"There is a part of empire not communicable, and which must reside sovereignly somewhere; for there would be such a perpetual clashing of power and jurisdictions, as were inconsistent with the very being of communities, unless this last resort were somewhere lodged. Now this incommunicable power we take to be the supreme judgment of what is best and most expedient for the whole; and in all reason of government, this ought to be there trusted and lodged from whence protection is expected.

"That Ireland should judge of what is best for itself, this is just and fair; but in determinations that are to reach the whole, as, namely, what is most expedient for England and Ireland both, there, without all doubt, the supreme judgment ought to rest in the king, lords, and commons of England, by whose arms and treasure Ireland ever was, and must always be defended."—Vide Davenant's Works, published by Sir Charles Whitworth, vol. ii. p. 247.

again be, constitutionally exerted, in regard to the colonies, without abolishing every restriction on the part of *governors*, and extinguishing every right on the part of the *governed*.*

* Such is the general system of the laws for regulating the commerce of the colonies; and I will now add some instances of parliamentary interference, on other occasions, which I conceive to be consistent with the principles I have laid down. Thus, when the first princes of the Stewart family affected to consider the plantations as their own demesnes, with a view of making them a source of revenue to themselves, the commons opposed and defeated a claim which, if it had been established, might have rendered the king independant of the British parliament. (See the Journals of 1624 and 1625, and Vaughan's Reports, 402.) Nobody doubts the propriety of the commons' interposition on this occasion. Again, we have seen in the History of Barbadoes, a great minister (the Earl of Clarendon) impeached by the house of commons, among other things, for introducing an arbitrary government into the plantations. It was never alleged, that the house in this business exceeded the limits of its proper and constitutional functions. Soon after the revolution, some laws were passed by one or two of the provincial assemblies, which were supposed to weaken the chain that holds the colonies dependent on the mother-country. This gave occasion to a clause in the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22, which declares, "that all laws (meaning the laws for regulating trade) which are any ways repugnant to the laws of England, shall be deemed null and void." This, though a strong, was certainly a justifiable exertion of English supremacy. By the 6 Anne, c. 30, a general post-office is established in the colonies. This may be deemed an internal regulation; but, as Dr. Franklin observed, it was a regulation which one colony could not make for another; and as the revenue which it raised was considered in the nature of a *quantum meruit*, a reward for service (a service too which the

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Previously excluding, however, every idea of its interposition in the concerns of internal legislation, and all other matters to which the colonists were not bound to accept, for a man might, if he had thought proper, have sent his letters as before by a private messenger) the act was submitted to. After this, some laws were passed, which were thought to bear hard upon the rights of the colonists. By the 5th Geo. II. c. 7. in consequence of some petitions from different bodies of English merchants, complaining that the colonial laws afforded but an inadequate remedy for the recovery of debts; it is enacted, "that lands, houses, negroes, and other "heriditaments, and all real estate whatever, should be "liable to, and chargeable with, all debts, due either to "the king, or any of his subjects, and be assets for the satis-"faction thereof." And by the 24th Geo. II. c. 53. "the "governors and assemblies of the respective provinces are "restrained from passing any act, order, resolution, or vote, "whereby paper bills, or bills of credit, shall be increased "or issued." As both these laws were passed in favour of English merchants, who had advanced money for the use of the colonists, it was thought dishonourable to object to the regulations which they established. The laws were therefore submitted to, but not without murmurs on the part of the provincial legislatures, who considered them as infringing their liberties. Their submission to them, though on very laudable principles, was afterwards quoted against them, and assigned as the best of all possible reasons for requiring unconditional submission on all other occasions.

From what has been said above, and what will hereafter be stated on the subject of the commercial system, the reader will be enabled to form some idea of the boundary contended for, between a constitutional, superintending, controuling power in the British parliament, and a system of perfect unqualified tyranny, *the power of binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever.*

lonial assemblies are sufficiently competent: for, to the reasons already stated for this absolute exclusion, may be added, the utter impossibility that two different legislatures can, at all times, and in the same moment, enforce their authority on the same object, inasmuch as they may happen to differ in opinion, and in that dilemma, this consequence must follow; either the British must yield to the provincial, or prevail over it in points, for which, from the practical or constitutional unfitness of the former, the latter was formed. Such inconsistency would render government at once oppressive and ridiculous.*

* If Great Britain had no right to interfere with the internal legislation of the colonies, she could have had no possible right to tax them for the purpose of revenue; yet, it does not follow, that she would have had a right to tax them, even if she had possessed just authority to make laws for their internal government. "Taxation (said Lord Chatham) "is no part of the governing or *legislative* power. Taxes are "a voluntary gift and grant of the commons *alone*. In legis- "lation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned: "but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, "is only necessary to clothe it in the form of a law. The "gift and grant is of the commons alone." It is unnecessary to say more concerning the right of parliamentary taxation of the colonies, because parliament itself (when indeed it was too late) has formally relinquished the claim. By the 18 Geo. III. c. 12. the king and parliament of Great Britain declare, that from thenceforth they will not impose any duty, tax, &c. payable in any of the king's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the West Indies, except for the regulation of commerce: the produce whereof is always to be applied to the use of the colony in which it is levied.

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But, in a government of which freedom is the basis, and of which it is the boast that it promotes, equally and impartially, the happiness of all its subjects, it might be supposed that no other authority over its dependencies could be necessary, than that which effectually provides, that every addition to their wealth and greatness should contribute, at the same time, to the augmentation of its own riches and power. And such, before the late unfortunate divisions, was the commercial system adopted by Great Britain, and submitted to by her American colonies. To discriminate the several parts, properties, and effects of this great arrangement of restriction and monopoly; to shew that it secured every degree of authority in the parent over the child, which is consistent with the happiness and freedom of mankind (the ends of all just government); and finally that it might have answered, in the fullest degree, even the objects of revenue and contribution, if Great Britain had happily confined her pretensions to the limits originally prescribed by herself———for these purposes it would be necessary to enter into a large and comprehensive discussion, to which the design of my work does not extend. How far the British sugar islands constituted a part of, and were comprized in, the general system, I shall endeavour to point out in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III.

Principles on which the Nations of Europe settled Colonies in America.—Commercial Regulations of Great Britain.—Remarks on the Acts of Navigation.—Admission of foreign-built Vessels eventually beneficial.—Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Islands, and their Value.—The same from Ireland.—Wines from Madeira and the Azores.—Other Profits.—Summary of the whole.—Imports from the West Indies to Great Britain and Ireland, and their Value according to the London Prices.—Amount of British Capital vested in the Sugar Islands.—Shipping and Seamen.—General Observations.—Appendix.

CHAP III.

THE establishment of colonies in America by the nations of Europe (says Montesquieu) was contrived, not in the view of building cities and extending empires, but for the purpose of carrying on trade to greater advantage than could be done with rival states. Commercial monopoly therefore, and with great reason, is the leading principle of colonial intercourse.

This account, with some little qualification, may be admitted; and a very slight inquiry will demonstrate that it applies as pointedly to the

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English, as to any other nation. The means indeed which Great Britain has adopted for retaining to herself the full benefit of the monopoly, have, in some cases, proved more liberal than those of rival states; but the principle by which the various nations of Europe were influenced, was precisely the same: to secure to themselves respectively, the most important of the productions of their colonies, and to retain to themselves exclusively, the great advantage of supplying those colonies with European goods and manufactures, was the chief aim and endeavour of them all.

Whether the several parts of this system, as adopted by the British government, and its consequent train of duties, restrictions, and prohibitions, were originally as wise and politic, as they are evidently selfish, is a question that of late has been much controverted. But this is a discussion into which it can answer no good purpose to enter, because the present arrangement has been too long, and is now too firmly established amongst us to be abrogated; and thus much at least has been truly said in its favour, that it is calculated to correspond with the regulations of foreign states: for so long as other nations confine the trade of their colonies to themselves, to affirm that Great Britain derives no advantage from following

their example, is to contradict both experience and reason.* CHAP. III.

Of the commercial regulations of this kingdom, the memorable law which was passed in the 12th year of King Charles II. chap. 18, commonly called, by way of eminence, THE NAVIGATION ACT, may be considered as the foundation. By this law it is, among other provisions, declared,

First, That no goods or commodities should be imported into, or exported out of, any of his Majesty's plantations or territories in Asia, Africa, or America, but in ships *belonging* to the subjects of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or in such as are of the *built of, and belonging to*, such plantations, and whereof three-fourths of the mariners and the master are English subjects, on pain of the forfeiture of ship and cargo; and all admirals and commanders of king's ships are authorized to make seizure of ships offending herein.

Secondly, That no person born out of the allegiance of his Majesty, who is not natura-

* "Free commerce and navigation are not to be given "in exchange for restrictions and vexations, nor are they "likely to produce a relaxation of them." So says Mr. Jefferson, the American secretary of state, in his admirable report to the congress of the United States, dated 16 December 1793; wherein the reader will find many deep and important observations on the subject of free commerce, which apply to all the maritime powers of Europe as well as to the states of America.

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lized, or made a free denizen, shall act as a merchant or factor in any of the said places; upon pain of forfeiting all his goods and chattels.

Thirdly, That all governors, before they enter into the exercise of their office, shall take an oath to do their utmost, that the above-mentioned regulations shall be punctually and *bona fide* observed; and a governor neglecting his duty therein, shall be removed from his government.

Fourthly, That no goods or commodities whatever of the growth or manufacture of Africa, Asia, and America, shall be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Guernsey and Jersey, or Berwick, in any other ships but those *belonging to* the said places, or to the plantations, and navigated in the manner aforesaid, under penalty of forfeiting both ship and cargo.

Fifthly, That no *sugars*, *tobacco*, *cotton*, *indigo*, *ginger*, *fustic*, or other *dying woods*, of the production of any English plantation in Asia, Africa, or America, shall be exported therefrom to any place, except to some other English plantation; or to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. The above commodities being named in the act are called generally *enumerated*, in contradistinction to all others of plantation growth; and,

Lastly, Bond security is required from all

ships trading to or in the plantations, and lading on board such commodities, for the due observance of this part of the law.

Such, together with the conditions under which foreign-built ships were to enjoy the privilege of English ships, are the chief restrictions and provisions of this celebrated statute, *so far as they relate to the plantation trade*, and they are extended and strengthened by a law which passed three years afterwards, which the plantation governors are also sworn to enforce; for by the 15th of Cha. 2. c. 7, it is enacted that no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into the British plantations, *but such as are laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick;* and in *English-built* shipping, (or ships taken as prize, and certified according to a former act) whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners are English, and carried directly to the said plantations. There is an exception however as to salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland, wines from Madeira and the Azores, and horses and victuals from Ireland and Scotland; and the preamble to the act, after stating that plantations are formed by citizens of the mother-country, assigns the motive for this restriction to be, "the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between the subjects at home

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and those in the plantations, *keeping the colonies in a firmer dependance upon the mother-country, making them yet more beneficial and advantageous to it in the further employment and increase of English shipping, vent of English manufactures and commodities*; rendering the navigation to and from them more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom *a staple, not only of the commodities of the plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places for the supply of them, it being* (continues the preamble) *the usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themselves.**

Ten years after this, another act passed (25 Cha. II. c. 7.) imposing duties on sugar and other

* The design of this act, says Postlethwaite, was to make a double voyage necessary, where the colonies used any commodities of the growth and manufacture of Europe but British: for if they could not be shipped in Great Britain, they must first be brought thither from the places of their growth and manufacture, and Great Britain would consequently have the benefit, not only of that freight, but of as many ships and sailors as must be employed in bringing them from thence. It is remarkable, that by this act Ireland was indirectly deprived of the benefits allowed that kingdom by the act of navigation, for it is required, that none of the enumerated goods shall be carried from the plantations to any country or place whatsoever, until they have been first unladen and put ashore in some port or haven in *England, Wales,* or *Berwick*. By a subsequent act this intention was avowed, and Ireland was expressly shut out from a *direct* trade with the plantations.

commodities* exported from one colony to another, and the following is assigned as the reason; "that the inhabitants of some of the said colonies, not content with being supplied with those commodities for their own use, free from all customs, had, contrary to law, exported considerable quantities to divers parts of Europe; and did likewise vend great quantities to the shipping of other nations, to the great injury of the trade and navigation of the parent state." For the prevention of this inconveniency in future, the duties in question are laid on the export of those commodities from the plantations; unless security be given to transport them directly to England, Berwick, or Wales. The duties were the same, I believe, as were then paid in England on most of those commodities imported for home consumption.

This act was soon found to require explanation and amendment; for the payment of the aforesaid duties having been considered in the colonies as an exoneration from giving security not to go to any foreign market in Europe, it was provided by the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22, that, notwithstanding the payment of the duties in question, the same security should

* White sugar 5*s.* and muscovado 1*s.* 6*d.* *per* cwt.; tobacco 1*d.* cotton-wool $1\frac{1}{2}$*d.* indigo 2*d.* cacao 1*d.* *per* lb.; logwood 5*l.* ginger 1*s.* the cwt.; fustic, &c. 6*d.*

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be given as was required by former acts; and it was enacted and declared, that no commodities of the growth or manufacture of the plantations, should, on any pretence whatsoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland, unless the same were first landed in England, and had paid the rates and duties wherewith they were there chargeable by law.

By the same act it is declared, that no goods or merchandize whatever shall be imported into, or exported out of, any British colony or plantation, but in ships *built* in England, Ireland, or the plantations, wholly owned by English subjects, and navigated as before; and provisions are established concerning the regestering of ships, to prevent the fraud of passing foreign-built ships as English; together with various regulations to prevent counterfeit certificates, and frauds in the import and export to and from the colonies; for all which, reference must be made to the act at large, which is systematic and comprehensive in a high degree.

These acts therefore, and some intermediate ones, which it is not necessary to particularise, may be considered as supplemental to the navigation act, and they form all together the foundation of our colonial code; most of the subsequent acts now in force, being framed in the same spirit, and intended to enforce and

strengthen the system; with some few alterations and exceptions only, which however do not extend to any great and substantial change in the principle or ground-work.*

* The following, I believe, are the chief additions, alterations, and exceptions, so far as the British sugar islands are principally concerned. If the reader is desirous of the fullest and most correct information on this head, he is referred to a late History of the Law of Shipping and Navigation, by John Reeves, Esq. an admirable work, in which the driest subjects are treated with such clearness, precision, and elegance, as to render the book not only instructive, but in a very high degree entertaining and interesting.

By statute 3 and 4 Ann. c. 5. Rice and melasses were put into the enumeration, and by c. 8. Irish linens, laden in Ireland in English-built shipping navigated according to law, were admitted into the plantations.

By 7 Ann. c. 8. Jesuits' bark, and all other drugs, are permitted to be imported into Great Britain from the British plantations, on payment of the same duties as if imported *directly* from the place of their growth.

By 13 Geo. I. c. 15. and 7. Geo. II. c. 18. Cochineal and indigo were allowed for a certain time to be imported from any port or place, in British or other ships; which acts were afterwards renewed, and are now in force.

By 3 Geo. II. c. 28. Rice was permitted, under certain conditions, to be carried from South Carolina to any port of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; a privilege afterwards extended to North Carolina and Georgia.

By 4 Geo. II. c. 15. *Non-enumerated* goods (viz. goods not enumerated in the 12 of Cha. II. c. 18) are admitted to be imported directly into Ireland from the colonies, notwithstanding the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22.—Hops, by a subsequent statute, are excepted out of this indulgence.

By 12 Geo. II. c. 30. Sugars, under certain regulations

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The reader will find that the system embraces two distinct objects; first, the augmen-

and restrictions, are permitted to be carried immediately from the British plantations to any port or place southward of Cape Finisterre, and also to any foreign port of Europe in licensed ships, which are to call first at some port in Great Britain.—This was considered as a great indulgence, but the conditions and regulations on which it was granted were so strict and numerous, as to defeat in a great measure the intention of the legislature.

By 4 and 5 Geo. III. sect. 27. British plantation coffee, pimento, and cacao-nuts, are put into the enumeration; as are likewise whale fins, raw silk, hides, and skins, pot and pearl ashes; and by sect. 28. security is required that no iron, nor any sort of wood called lumber, the growth, production, or manufacture of any British colony or plantation, shall be landed in any port of Europe except Great Britain; an exception however was afterwards made by 5 Geo. III. c. 45, by which iron might be carried to Ireland, and lumber to Madeira, the Azores, or any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 39. Bond is required to be given in the British plantations, that no rum or other spirits shall be landed in the Isle of Man; and by the 6 Geo. III. c. 52. security is required for all non-enumerated goods, that the same shall not be landed at any port of Europe to the northward of Cape Finisterre, except in Great Britain, and (by a subsequent law) Ireland.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 55. Any sort of cotton wool may be imported in British-built ships from any country or place, duty free.

By 6 Geo. III. c. 49, was established the measure of opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. By this act, live cattle, and all manner of goods and commodities whatsoever (except tobacco), the produce of any foreign colony in America, might be imported into Prince Rupert's Bay

tation of our naval strength, by an entire exclusion of foreign shipping from our planta- CHAP. III.

and Rosseau in Dominica, and into Kingston, Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea in Jamaica, from any foreign colony or plantation in America, in any foreign sloop, schooner, or other vessel, not having more than one deck. This act was temporary, but was afterwards continued, until materially altered by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. wherein, among sundry other regulations, two more ports are opened in addition to the former, viz. St. George, in the island of Grenada, and the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, one of the Bahamas, into which cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all kinds, cacao, logwood, fustic, and other dye-woods, hides and tallow, beaver and all sorts of furs, tortoise-shell, mill-timber, mahogany, &c. horses, asses, mules, and cattle, being the growth or production of any *colony* or *plantation* in America, belonging to or under the dominion of any foreign *European* sovereign or state, and all coin and bullion, &c. may be imported in any foreign sloop, schooner, or other vessel, not having more than one deck, and not exceeding the burthen of seventy tons, and provided also that such vessel is owned and navigated by the subjects of some foreign European sovereign or state. It is permitted also to the same description of persons and vessels to export from these parts British plantation rum, negroes, and all manner of goods that had been legally imported, except naval stores and iron. The foreign articles thus permitted to be brought into the free ports by this act, may be exported again to Great Britain or Ireland; and by a subsequent law (30 Geo. III. c. 29.) the restriction in regard to the tonnage of foreign vessels is taken off, but these vessels are still limited to one deck.

The next great measure was the opening the plantation trade to the people of Ireland, which was first partially done by the 18 Geo. III. c. 55. and more fully by the 20 Geo III.

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tion trade; secondly, the securing to Great Britain all the emoluments arising from her colonies, by a double monopoly over them; *viz.* a monopoly of their whole import, which is to be altogether *from* Great Britain; and a monopoly of all their export, which (as far as it can serve any useful purpose to the mother-country) is to be no where but *to* Great Britain. On the same idea, it was contrived that they should send all their products to us *raw*, and in their first state; and that they should take every thing from us in the last stage of manufacture.

Most of our commercial writers, and many of our statesmen, have considered the two great leading principles above-mentioned to be so closely interwoven together, and dependent on each other, as not to be disjoined without violence to both: whereas, in truth, the monopoly of our colonial products, and the advantages

c. 10. under which they enjoy the like unlimited intercourse with the colonies, both in respect of import and export, as Great Britain; on condition only that the goods so imported and exported are made liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions, as in Great Britain; a condition to which the Parliament of Ireland consented, by passing an act imposing duties on the imports, conformable to those of Great Britain.

The regulations with regard to America, since the independence of the United States, will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

arising from the supply of the wants of the colonists, might not only be supported, even though foreign-built vessels were incorporated into the great body of our shipping, but it may eventually happen, that both our trade and navigation would be greatly improved and extended by such a measure.*

That the maintenance of our naval strength is one of the most important objects to which the British government can direct its attention, no person of common understanding will venture to dispute; and so long as Great Britain can herself furnish shipping on the cheapest terms, sufficient for all the great branches of her commerce, every possible encouragement ought undoubtedly to be given to our own shipwrights, and every discouragement to the participation of foreigners in the ship-building trade; but it is the interest of the merchant to get his freight as cheap as possible; it is equally so of the manufacturer; because every increase in the price of shipping and freight,

* "There are some who confound commerce and navigation together, as one and the same thing; but the one is only an instrument of the other, and not always an essential one. Commerce consists principally in the exchange of commodities, if it exists in inland countries where there can be no navigation. China has a commerce with all Europe extremely beneficial to her, but she has no navigation to any part of Europe. The ships of Europe are her carriers." Smith of S. Carolina.

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operates as a tax upon the commodities shipped, and affects the foreign demand in proportion. If therefore, from progressive improvements in our agriculture and manufactures, the two great founders and employers of shipping, the maritime commerce of all the British dominions shall at any time require a greater number of ships than Great Britain and her dependencies can furnish on any saving terms, either recourse must be had to foreign vehicles, or our trade, like the victims of Procrustes, must be lopped and shortened to make it suit the measure of our own.*

Navigation and naval power are the *children*, not the *parents*, of commerce; for if agriculture and manufactures, and mutual wants, did not furnish the subject-matter of intercourse between distant countries, there must be an end to navigation. The remark therefore of a very distinguished senator,† concerning that

* "Can it be reconciled to common sense to assert that if the Americans, or any other people, were to offer us 500 sail of vessels every year *gratis*, it would be against the interest of the nation (as a nation) to accept them, because it might prove detrimental to some individuals among us (our shipwrights, &c.)? If the argument will not hold good, considered in this extended light, it can never, by parity of reason, be admitted in cases where vessels can be purchased at one-half the price it would cost to build them."—Vide a Short Address from a Manufacturer, on the Importance of the Trade of Great Britain with the United States of America. Printed for Stockdale, 1785. † Mr. Burke.

branch of our commercial system of which we are now treating, appears to be undoubtedly true, "that if the navigation act be suffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times, and fluctuation of circumstances, it must do great mischief, and frequently even defeat its own purpose."*

* An American writer of a periodical work called the *Museum*, published at Philadelphia in 1791, having been informed, that France had permitted the introduction of American vessels into the trade (in which, however, he was mistaken), expresses the following sentiments; which, to my understanding, convey conviction in every word. "If "France, (saith he) had rejected American vessels, she "would have so far sacrificed her carrying-trade to the "manufacture of ships. She wisely purchases, upon the "cheapest terms, *the cradles* for her marine nursery. The "first and great object of the maritime powers ought to "be, *the increase of the number of their sailors*, which is "best done by multiplying the chances of their employ-"ment. Among the means of doing this, one of the most "obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of vessels*. The "French-built ships cost from fifty-five to sixty dollars *per* "ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, exclusive of sea-"stores, insurance, the charges of lading, outward pilot-"age, and other expenses incidental to the employment, "and not to the building and outfit of a vessel. The Ame-"rican live-oak and cedar ships, to which none are supe-"rior, cost, in the same situation, from thirty-three to "thirty-five dollars, finished very completely. If the French "require 10,000 tons of new vessels, on any occasion, or "in any term of time, they may be procured in the United "States, on a computation of the medium price of thirty-

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Having observed thus much on the leading principles, or general system of our colonial trade, the application whereof will hereafter be seen, I shall now proceed to the more immediate object of our present researches, and endeavour to furnish the reader with some leading *data*, or facts, whereby to appreciate the value and importance of the British sugar islands, and the commerce which they create; by investigating,

1st. The nature and annual amount of the export trade from Great Britain and her dependencies, for the supply of their wants, and the profits of the British merchants and ship-owners thereon.

2dly. The particulars and value of the various rich commodities, the growth of these islands, annually imported into Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

" four dollars *per* ton, for the sum of 340,000 dollars; but " if bought at fifty-five dollars, the lowest price in France, " they would cost the much greater sum of 555,000 dollars. " No argument is necessary to shew, that such a nation, " *cæteris paribus*, must produce seamen more rapidly than " those who refuse these cheap vessels. It would appear " much less unreasonable, that the government of the " United States should prohibit the sale of ships (*the means* " *of obtaining naval strength*) to foreign nations, than that " any of them should reject the great advantage of so cheap " and excellent a supply." Such is the reasoning of this author, and it is no proof that his arguments are weak, because the circumstance which gave rise to them did not exist.

3dly. The value of the sugar islands considered as so much British capital.

4thly. A state of the shipping and seamen to which the British sugar islands afford employment.

A full enumeration of the various articles which furnish the ships bound to the West Indies with an outward freight, would indeed comprise a considerable proportion of almost all the productions and manufactures of this kingdom, as well as of many of the commodities imported into Great Britain from the rest of Europe and the East Indies. The inhabitants of the sugar islands are wholly dependent on the mother-country and Ireland, not only for the comforts and elegances, but also for the common necessaries of life. In most states and kingdoms, the first object of agriculture is to raise food for the support of the inhabitants; but many of the rich productions of the West Indies yield a profit so much beyond what can be obtained from grain, that in several of the sugar islands, it is true economy in the planter, rather to buy provisions from others, than to raise them by his own labour. The produce of a single acre of his cane fields will purchase more Indian corn than can be raised in five times that extent of land, and pay besides the freight from other countries. Thus, not only their household furniture, their implements of husbandry, their

clothing, but even a great part of their daily sustenance, are regularly sent to them from America or Europe. On the first head therefore, it may generally be observed, that the manufacturers of Birmingham and Manchester, the clothiers of Yorkshire, Gloucestershire, and Wilts, the potters of Staffordshire, the proprietors of all the lead, copper, and iron works, together with the farmers, victuallers, and brewers, throughout the kingdom, have a greater vent in the British West Indies, for their respective commodities, than perhaps they themselves conceive to be possible. Who would believe that woollens constitute an article of great consumption in the torrid zone? Such however is the fact. Of the coarser kinds especially, for the use of the negroes, the export is prodigious. Even sugar itself, the great staple of the West Indies, is frequently returned to them in a refined state: so entirely do these colonies depend on the mother-country; centring in her bosom all their wealth, wishes, and affections. "Why should England (says an old planter) "grudge at the wealth and prosperity of the "plantations, since all that is ours she may ac- "count her own, not only because we are a "part of England as it is taken largely, but "also because all comes to the kingdom of "England, properly so called? By a kind of "magnetic force, England draws to it all that "is good in the plantations; it is the centre to

" which all things tend. Nothing but England " can we relish or fancy; our hearts are there, " wherever our bodies are. If we get a little " money, we remit it to England: they that are " able, breed up their children in England. When " we are a little easy, we desire to live and spend " what we have in England; and all that we get " is brought to England."*

To the laudable researches of the lords of the committee of council on the subject of the slave trade, the public have been lately indebted for such a body of evidence and information respecting the general commerce of the British West Indies, as could not possibly have been collected by any exertions less extensive and efficient than those of government. † I have frequently had recourse to their lordships' report in former parts of this work, and shall refer to it on this occasion.

From that authority it appears, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the British West Indies, in the year 1787 (since which time they certainly have not diminished) amounted to 1,638,703*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* the whole of which (except about 200,000*l.*) consisted of British goods and manufactures. The exports for the same year to Africa, which, with all

* *Groans of the Plantations,* published the latter end of the last century.

† Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council on the Slave Trade, 1789.

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subsequent profits, must be charged to the same account, amount to 668,255*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.** Besides this, the cost is to be stated of manufactures and provisions from Ireland, and of wines from Madeira and the Azores; the same having hitherto been purchased by British capitals, and conveyed to the West Indies in vessels trading circuitously from British ports, and the returns likewise made, for the most part, to Great Britain. For the same reason, the cost and freight of lumber, fish, and other productions of America, both from the American states and the British provinces, transported from thence to the British sugar islands, in British vessels, must likewise be added to the estimate.

Concerning Ireland, I have no account for 1787, but the reader will find, in an Appendix to this volume, official accounts for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, as well of the exports from that kingdom to the British West Indies, as of the imports received from thence in return; both in a direct trade. Of the former, the average value is 294,353*l.* Irish, being equal to

* The goods shipped for the purchase of gum, ivory, and gold, in the trade direct between Africa and Great Britain, constitute some small part of this; but I make no deduction on that account, because the freight of, and merchants' commissions on, such parts as are applied to the purchase of slaves, and the profits on the sale of those slaves in the West Indies, not being charged in the Inspector General's book, I set one against the other.

277,218*l.* sterling; the amount of the imports will be given hereafter.

Of wines, from Madeira and the Azores, the yearly consumption in these islands may be estimated, on an avarage, at 30,000*l.*

Respecting America, the supplies that were annually furnished by those provinces which now constitute the United States, were valued, at the places of delivery, at no less than 720,000*l.* sterling; and they consisted of articles so essentially necessary, that the restrictions to which this trade is now subject (how grievously soever they are felt by the planters) have not, I think, diminished the demand, or lessened the import.* Official accounts of the present state of this intercourse are no where given to the public: a retrospective survey of its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the war, will be given in the subsequent chapter.

There are yet to be reckoned the imports from the American provinces which still remain to Great Britain, including Newfoundland; of which, in like manner, no account, that I have seen, has been published. Supposing they

* Jamaica, for a while, found some resource within itself for staves and lumber; but the country is, I believe, by this time, nearly exhausted of those articles. The profit to Great Britain arising from the freight alone of the whole supply, is stated by the lords of the privy council at 245,000*l. per annum.*

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were equal in value to the West Indian commodities shipped thither in return (a conjecture probably not very wide of the truth,) the sum to be charged on this account for 1787, is 100,506*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.**

I shall now bring into one point of view the several great items that have been enumerated: adding to the British and Irish supply 20 *per cent.* for the cost of freight and insurance outwards, the charges of shipping, commission to the merchant-exporter in some cases, and the profits in others of the merchant-importer in the West Indies; all which contribute to swell the debt of the planters to Great Britain; viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£
Export from Great Britain direct - - -	1,638,703	13	10	
——— from Ireland -	277,218	-	-	
	1,915,921	13	10	
Add 20 *per cent.* for freight, &c. &c. - - -	383,184	6	2	
				2,299,106
Exports to Africa for the purchase of negroes				668,255
——— from Madeira and the Azores -				30,000
——— United States of America -				720,000
——— British America - - -				100,506
Total - -				3,817,867

* Much the greater part of this sum is for fish from Newfoundland; the import of that article from thence into the British West Indies, on an average of five years (1783 to 1787, both inclusive), have been 80,645 quintals, worth at the ports of delivery about 17*s.* 6*d* the quintal.

Perhaps it were no excess to state the whole amount at this time at four millions of pounds sterling. Hence then appears the vast dependence of the British West Indian colonies on their parent country, for almost every thing that is useful and ornamental to civilized life; and it was justly observed, by the accurate and intelligent Mr. Glover, that such a market for the vent of our manufactures, furnishes irrefragable proof, that through whatever channel riches have flowed into those colonies, that influx hath made its passage to the mother-country, "not (continued he) like the dash of an Oriental torrent, but in salubrious, various, placid, and copious streams; refreshing and augmenting sober industry by additional employment to thousands and ten thousand of families, and lightening the burthen upon rents, by reducing the contributions of parishes to poverty unemployed."

After all, it is not so much by the exports to, as by the imports from, the sugar islands, that we are to judge of their value: every article of their products and returns being in fact as truly British property, as the tin which is found in the mines of Cornwall; and their staples are the more valuable, inasmuch as they differ from the commodities produced at home: for they supply the mother-country, not only

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with what she must otherwise purchase from foreigners for her own use, but with a superfluity besides for foreign consumption. Let us now then, as proposed, inquire into the particulars, and estimate the value of their various productions and commodities with which Great Britain and her dependencies are annually supplied. Here too, I might refer to the year 1787, and avail myself, as I have done in the history of each particular island, of the very exact, comprehensive, and valuable statement of the returns of that year, as prepared by the Inspector General of the exports and imports, with the marketable prices of each article, and annexed by the committee of the privy-council to their report on the slave trade; but I choose rather to look to the year 1788, chiefly because the exports of any one year are set properly against the imports of the succeeding one; it being usual, in most articles of British export to the West Indies, to give twelve or sixteen months credit.

The imports into Great Britain from the British sugar islands in 1788, and the value thereof, will appear in the following table. The quantities are taken from the Inspector General's return;* but that officer has not, in this case, as in the account of the former

* Report of the privy-council, part iv.

year, affixed the marketable prices.* These therefore are collected from the opinions of respectable brokers, on a low average of the year; the miscellaneous articles excepted, which stand as stated by the Inspector General with the addition of one-third, being the usual disproportion between the actual prices current, and those in the custom-house books.

* The marketable prices, are the current prices after the duties have been cleared, and these are paid on importation, except as to the duties and excise on rum, which is permitted to be bonded. The latter therefore cannot be said to be paid by the planter in the first instance, as in the former case they certainly are, and nine times out of ten are *not* refunded by the consumer, as will hereafter be demonstrated.

IMPORTS from the Briti

	Cwt.
Sugar, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's	
Antigua	181,813
Grenada	193,783
St. Vincent's, Tortola, and Anguilla	164,976
Jamaica	1,124,017
Barbadoes	110,955
Dominica	47,610
	Gallons.
Rum, Jamaica	2,917,797
other islands	728,645
	Cwt.
Coffee	32,283
	lbs.
Cotton	11,618,382
	Cwt.
Ginger, Jamaica	3,892
Barbadoes	5,755
Miscellaneous articles valued at the custom-house prices	
Add one-third, the usual difference between the prices in the bo and the current prices at market	

The amount is 6,488,319*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* and this sum is altogether exclusive of bullion, of which the annual import from these islands into Great Britain is very considerable: it is presumed that 320,000*l.* is a moderate average, which being added to the foregoing, gives a total of 6,808,319*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* I will call it six million eight hundred thousand pounds only; and the calculation is confirmed by the testimony of a merchant of the first character and

West Indies into Great Britain in 1788.

Cwt.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.
242,542 at 47s.	569,973 14 —	
375,596 at 46s.	863,870 16 —	
1,288,993, at 44s.	2,835,784 12 —	
158,565 at 45s.	356,771 5 —	
2,065,696 - -	- - - L.	4,626,400 7 —
at 2s. 2d. - -	316,094 13 6	
at 2s. - - -	72,864 10 —	
		388,959 3 6
at 96s. - - -	- - - -	154,958 8 —
at 14d. - - -	- - - -	677,738 19 —
at 30s. - - -	5,838 — —	
at 44s. - - -	12,661 — —	
		18,499 — —
- - - - - -	466,322 15 5	
pector General's } - - - - }	155,440 18 5	
		621,763 13 10
Total - - - - -		L. 6,488,319 11 4

ability; who, in his evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, has fixed on this sum as the amount of the imports into Great Britain from the British West Indies for the same year.*

* See the evidence of George Hibbert, Esquire, merchant in London, before a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed to take examinations on the slave-trade, 20th March, 1790

Of the imports into Ireland and America, &c. directly from these islands, in 1788, no account, that I have seen, has been given to the public. I shall therefore adopt, from the authority of the Inspector General, those of the year preceding: which stand thus:

	£.	s.	d.
To Ireland* . .	127,585	4	5
American States .	196,460	8	0
British American colonies	100,506	17	10
Foreign West Indies .	18,245	12	6
Africa . . .	868	15	0
Total .	£443,666	17	9

Add this sum to the British import, and the whole yearly value of the produce of the British West Indies, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is seven million two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds seventeen shillings and nine pence sterling; all which is produced by the labour of 65,000 whites, and

* In official accounts before referred to of the Irish exports and imports, and subjoined at length in an appendix to this volume, it appears that the value of the goods imported into Ireland from the British West Indies, has of late years greatly increased. In 1790 they amounted to 169,563*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.*—in 1791 to 218,589*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*—and in 1792 to 225,774*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* These sums are the currency of Ireland.

455,000 blacks, being one hundred and eleven pounds for each white person, and thirteen pounds eighteen shillings and six pence *per* head *per annum*, for man, woman and child, black and white, throughout all the British West Indies.

From this immense supply, the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland received, in gross duties, upwards of 1,800,000*l.* sterling, exclusive of the duty of 4½ *per cent.* collected in Barbadoes, and some other of the islands, and which being paid in kind, is, I presume, included in the general imports above stated. Of the remainder, we have already seen how large a share was the property of the manufacturer, the merchant, and the navigator. A further sum, not less than 1,037,000*l.*, must be placed to the same account, for freights and insurance homeward, commissions on the sale, and a long train of other charges. The balance, reduced, as it necessarily must be, by such a multiplicity of claims and deductions, to a very small proportion of the gross returns, is paid over to the planters, their agents, mortgagees, or annuitants, most of whom are resident in Great Britain, and by whom it is partly employed in extending cultivation in the West Indies, and partly expended or invested in the mother-country; in the one case giving vigour to industry, in the other upholding the price of

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British lands, or the credit of the British funds. With great truth, therefore, did the merchants and planters declare to the house of commons, "that the sugar colonies, and the commerce thereon dependent, have become the most considerable source of navigation and national wealth out of the limits of the mother-country; and that no part of the national property can be more beneficially employed for the public, nor are any interests better entitled to the protection of the legislature, than theirs."*

I shall now state the value of this great property, considered as British capital. In the report of the privy-council, it is estimated at

* The following are the particulars of freight and insurance homewards, commissions, &c. as enumerated in the valuable chain of evidence by George Hibbert, Esquire, before referred to, viz.

Received by the ship-owners, for freight homewards, about	£ 560,000
Underwriters for insurance	150,000
British merchants and brokers, for commissions, &c.	232,000
Wharfingers, &c. including primage	95,000
	£. 1,037,000

seventy millions of pounds sterling, as follows: viz.

	£.
450,000 negroes at 50*l. per* head	22,500,000
Lands, buildings, utensils, mules, &c. and crop on the ground, double the value of the negroes	45,000,000
Value of the houses, &c. in the towns, the trading and coasting vessels, and their crews belonging to the islands -	2,500,000
Total - -	£70,000,000

Another mode proposed by their Lordships of ascertaining the capital, is to reckon twelve years purchase on its annual produce, it being, they observed, not unusual in the West Indies, to sell estates at that price. I think that the sale of West Indian estates at *ten* years purchase, is much more common; and reckoning the mercantile value of the capital at seven millions *per annum*, the result, by this mode of calculation, agrees precisely with the former: a circumstance which gives room to conclude, that it is nearly as accurate as the subject will admit. There can be no possible inducement to exaggerate, where acknowledged facts are of so much weight.

There yet remains to be added a brief state of the shipping and seamen to which the sugar colonies directly give employment; and it ap-

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pears that the number of vessels which in the year 1787 cleared from the several British West Indian islands for Great Britain and Ireland (including 14 from Honduras) were 689, containing 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,986 men, being about nine seamen to every 100 tons; an extent of shipping nearly equal (as I have elsewhere observed) to the whole commercial tonnage of England a century ago. At the same time it is not to be overlooked, that the seamen so employed, being in constant service, are always at command; and on this account, they are a more valuable body of men than even the seamen employed in the Newfoundland fishery; of whom a great proportion remains in the country during the winter, and cannot therefore, on any sudden emergency, be added to the naval force of the kingdom.*

* The French writers state the number of ships employed in *their* West Indian trade at 600, and the average of their burthen at 300 tons one with another: their seamen at 15,000. The following account of the average imports from the French sugar islands, and the duties paid thereon, was published in 1785; viz.

	LIVRES.		LIVRI
150,000 casks of sugar valued at	90,000,000	Droits de domaine d'occident	5,600,(
60 millions of pounds of coffee	45,000,000	Droits d'octroi à l'Amérique	7,344,(
2 millions of pounds of indigo	18,000,000	Duties on sugar refined in France	4,592,(
1½ million of pounds of cacao	1,000,000	Duties on coffee	750,(
3 millions of pounds of cotton	6,000,000	Duties on indigo	37,5
Total - -	160,000,000	Total - -	18,323,5

On a retrospect of the whole it may be truly affirmed, that the British sugar islands in the West Indies (different in all respects from colonies in northern latitudes) answer in every point of view, and, if I mistake not, to a much greater extent than is commonly imagined, all the purposes and expectations for which colonies have been at any time established. They furnish, as we have seen, a sure and exclusive market of the merchandise and manufactures of the mother-country and her dependencies, to the yearly amount of very near four millions of pounds sterling. They produce to an immense value, and in quantities not only sufficient for her own consumption, but also for a great export to foreign markets, many valuable and most necessary commodities, none of which interfere in any respect with her own productions; and most of which, as I shall demonstrate hereafter, she cannot obtain on equal terms elsewhere:—accompanied too with this peculiar benefit, that in the transfer of these articles from one part of her subjects to another part, not one shilling is taken from the general circulating wealth of the kingdom. Lastly, they give such employment to her ships and seamen, as while it supports and increases her navigation in time of peace, tends not in the smallest degree to obstruct, but on the contrary, contributes very eminently to aid and

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invigorate, her operations in war. It is evident therefore, that in estimating the value and importance of such a system, no just conclusions can be drawn, but by surveying it *comprehensively*, and *in all its parts*, considering its several branches as connected with, and dependent on, each other, and even then, the sum of its advantages will exceed calculation. We are told indeed, among other objections which I shall consider more at large in the concluding chapter of my work, that all the products of the British West Indies may be purchased cheaper in the colonies of foreign nations. If the fact were true, as it certainly is not, it would furnish no argument against the propriety and necessity of settling colonies of our own; because it must be remembered, that foreign nations will allow few or none of our manufactures to be received in their colonies in payment: that their colonists contribute in no degree by the investment and expenditure of their profits, to augment the wealth of the British nation, nor finally do they give employment exclusively to British shipping. To what extent the naval power of Great Britain is dependent on her colonial commerce, it is difficult to ascertain: if this trade be considered in all its channels, collateral and direct, connected as it is with our fisheries, &c. perhaps it is not too much to affirm, that it maintains a merchant

navy on which the maritime strength of the kingdom so greatly depends, that we should cease to be a nation without it.*

* The following is a comparative view of the two greatest branches of the British commerce; the East and West Indian trades.

East Indian Trade.	West Indian Trade.
Capital employed. *Eighteen millions.*	Capital employed. *Seventy millions.*
Value of goods exported annually to India and China, both by the company and their officers. *One million and a half.*	Value of goods exported from Great Britain and her dependencies, including the profit of freight on the several branches of supply, insurance, &c. *Three millions eight hundred thousand pounds.*
Imports sales by the company, and sales under licence, *five millions.*	Imports into Great Britain and Ireland, and shipped to other parts, the profits of which centre in Great Britain. *Seven millions two hundred thousand pounds.*
Duties paid to government, customs, &c. *Seven hundred and ninety thousand pounds*	Duties paid to government. *One million eight hundred thousand pounds.*
Chartered shipping of the company. *Eighty thousand.*	Shipping employed direct. *One hundred and fifty thousand tons.*

But the great difference arises from the circumstance that the trade to the West Indies is carried on with our own colonial possessions, which the settlements in the East never were, nor even can be considered.

APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER III. OF BOOK VI.

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THE following authentic statement of the exports and imports between the West India Islands and Great Britain, in the year 1795, was read in the House of Commons by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas, in his speech on the Slave Trade (April 1796). It displays such an astonishing increase as might appear utterly incredible, were it not recollected that in 1795 many of the French sugar islands were in our possession :

1795	Value in pounds sterling.
Exports of British Manufactures - -	3,212,431
of Foreign Manufactures - -	531,000
Total of Exports from Great Britain for 1795 - - - - - -	3,743,431
Imports of West India produce into Great Britain for 1795 - - - -	8,881,673
Value of West India produce re-exported in 1795 to foreign markets - -	3,773,000

Mr. Dundas, in the very eloquent speech which he delivered on this occasion, after introducing the preceding statement, made the following important observations :

" If any person shall tell me, that some of these advantages would be enjoyed by us even if the West Indies stood in the same relation to this country as America stands at this moment, I shall readily admit, that as much of this

account as arises out of the exportation and sale of our manufactures might possibly be the same in case of a separation. I do not think the manufactures of America are yet, nor indeed likely to be for a great many years, in a state to rival the manufactures of Great Britain. But when I have admitted thus much, it must, on the other hand, be allowed, that such an event, besides the operation it would have on the navigation of this kingdom, would put out of our power the whole produce that comes from the West Indies, and for which the planters can easily find a market elsewhere. Such a consequence would inevitably follow, and does it not form a most important consideration? We should lose all the surplus which makes so great an article in the foreign trade of this country. The whole of that important advantage would, by such an event, be lost for ever. Such would be one of the consequences of West-India independence, and such, as I have stated, *de facto* the relative situation existing between the mother-country and her sugar colonies.

Is it then, Sir, a crime in any Member of the House in this case to talk of policy? Is this the only question from which all considerations of policy are to be excluded? Is it a crime in me to call on Gentlemen, who, past the levity of youth, have arrived at a more sober and deliberate mode of thinking, maturely to weigh the consequences of rash and intemperate counsels on this occasion. Shall it be said, that I do not consult the interests of humanity, because I, who have attained a more advanced period of life, do not rush precipitately on, without clearly seeing my way before me?

This leads, me, Sir, to another consideration, which I wish to press upon the attention of the House,—and this consideration relates to America. Gentlemen should recollect, that the independence of America is already established. The separation of the West India islands from the

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mother-country is, therefore, at this time, a very different question from what it would have been, if the connexion between Great Britian and America had still subsisted;—before Gentlemen permit themselves to think such an event possible; before they resolve in a fit of generosity, or in a moment of anger, to declare the West India colonies independent, I wish they would at least consider, what security there is, that those islands would continue in that state of independance in which we might place them, if they were absolved from their allegiance and dismissed from the patronage of this country? I would ask, whether there is no other power in the world to be found, who would stretch out a fatherly hand for their protection? If, by the egregious folly and the madness of this country, such an event should occur, if any unjust and intemperate decision of this House should unfortunately produce the independance of the sugar colonies, it is but too probable, that with exultation over our folly, some other nation would read such a paper as I have this day produced, to demonstrate to the world the consequences of our insanity, by displaying the extent of *our* losses, and the magnitude of *their* gains! I feel myself impelled, by the importance of the subject, to press this again and again upon the minds of the House, and to inform them how greatly they are mistaken if they think they are consulting the true interests of this country in giving the smallest encouragement to the most distant idea of West Indian independancy!"

Ably as the foregoing considerations were enforced by the Right Honourable Speaker, it may be useful to suggest some views of the subject which he omitted,—and,

First, It is a conclusion not logically just, that because the commerce of Great Britain has been prosperous and progressive since the separation of the North American colonies, it is, therefore, indebted to that separation for any part of its prosperity, and might not have arrived to a much higher pitch if such an event had not happened. Do the American states use none but British manufactures, employ none but British agents, enrich none but British capitalists? Are they not become formidable rivals to us in commercial navigation, and has not France in the present war, found in their neutrality a powerful resource? Their advance in population and wealth, for several years immediately preceding the revolution, was so obvious and rapid, that, considering the drains and burthens which the war imposed, it would be too much to say, that their independence has given a peculiar spur to their advancement, from which Britain, as a trading nation, has derived a compensation for her loss of their exclusive trade. Could any probable expence of their protection have nearly reached the amount of that debt incurred in the war by which they were lost? The arguments by which free trade is usually recommended do not apply to this case. Such arguments imply a general liberation, but here there was no *quid pro quo*. Something, doubtless, was conceded, and nothing obtained in return.

Secondly, Whatever may be determined respecting the advantages which Great Britain derived from her North American colonies, no fair conclusion can thence be drawn as to the value of those she possesses in the West Indies, in so many and such material points dissimilar in nature and situation. So early as the time of Sir Josiah Child, who wrote in 1660, while the colonies of both kinds were yet in their infancy, this distinction was marked; their relative fitness for raising rival manufactures, building rival shipping, and draining the mother-country of people,

are by him stated in plain, but forcible, terms. (See Child on Trade, cap. 10.) It should never be forgotten, that the cultivation of the West India islands is entirely devoted to objects which the mother-country cannot produce, yet cannot do without, and which, from their extensive consumption, afford the surest means of balancing her foreign trade;—those colonies possess no exclusive shipping, and their acquirements centre, not by indirect channels, but immediately, in the bosom of Great Britain. Political economists may theorize concerning the utility of colonies, and the preference of concentring the national industry and wealth, but they forget, that such establishments are inseparable from the genius of a maritime people, and essential to its prosperity. And, if the comparative merit of colonies be examined, we may safely assert, that none ever existed so reconcileable with the best principles of political economy as those which the European nations possess in the West Indies.

Thirdly, The *independancy* of the West India islands, all things considered, is not a subject of probable speculation; they are constituted for an interchange of exclusive benefits, like that in which they now exist, and have hitherto flourished; and Great Britain would impose a task upon herself greater than any she ever undertook, were she to attempt to counteract their natural bias in that respect. Now, if any of our political economists should be disposed to maintain, that, in a state of dependance upon some other nation, Great Britain might derive advantages from their commerce, let him be asked, what benefits did she derive from the trade of Martinique and St. Domingo ten years ago? Those which France enjoyed from her exclusive colonies are stated very clearly in the valuable Analysis of the French Commerce published about the time of the revolution, by M. Arnould. It is there shewn that France imported from her colonies a value of about eight millions sterling, of which she exported about six millions, by that,

and by that alone, turning the general balance of trade in her favour. After accounting for the rapid progress which the commerce of Europe has made in the eighteenth century, that intelligent writer concludes :—" Toutes ces circon-
" stances, réunies ont produit la plus grande activité et une
" forte émulation dans le commerce des Européens. Elles
" ont multiplié les consommations, et ce meuvement pro-
" ducteur a *particulierement eté favorable à la France*, de-
" venue, vers le commencement du siècle, *proprietaire*
" d'objets nouveaux de consommation. Avec *le secours des*
" *denrées de nos Isles d'Amérique*, la France a fondé *une*
" *marine coloniale importante*, elle a fait ainsi valoir les
" marchandises navales du Nord, pendant que les capital-
" istes, les armateurs, et les négocians François, en s'en-
" richissant par le commerce, comme les agens du gou-
" vernement, par la part qu'ils obtenoient dans la progres-
" sion des impôts sur les consommations, se sont livrés à
" un luxe qui a augmenté le debouché des produits du sol
" et de l'industrie des Contreés Méridionales de l'Europe."

Arnould, Balance de la Commerce, p. 268.

CHAPTER IV.

Trade between the British West Indies and North America previous to the late Civil War.—Official Account of American Supplies, and their Value.—Ships and Seamen.—Returns.—Advantages resulting from this Trade to Great Britain.—Measures adopted by Government on the re-establishment of Peace.—Proclamation of the 2d July, 1783.—Petitions from the West Indies.—Opposition of the Settlers in Nova Scotia, &c. and the Ship-builders at Home.—Reference to the Committee of Privy Council.—Evidence taken by the Committee.—Their final Opinion thereon.—Proceedings of Government.—Destruction of Negroes in the West Indies in consequence.—Act of the 28 Geo. III. Ch. 6.—Present State and Value of the Trade between the British West Indies and the remaining British Provinces in America.—The same with the United States of America.—Inference from the whole.—Appendix.

BOOK VI.

HAVING purposely reserved for separate discussion, the commercial intercourse between the British West Indies and North America, I shall now proceed to investigate its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the late unfortunate

civil war: and offer some considerations on the policy of Great Britain, in the regulations and restrictions (as they affected the sugar islands) which government afterwards thought proper to adopt concerning it, in consequence of the acknowledgment of American independency: after which, I shall endeavour to furnish an account of the present state of the West Indian trade, both with the United States, and the continental colonies yet remaining to Great Britian.

It may, I think, be affirmed, without hazard of contradiction, that if ever there was any one particular branch of commerce in the world, that called less for restraint and limitation than any other, it was the trade, which, previous to the year 1774, was carried on between the planters of the West Indies and the inhabitants of North America. It was not a traffic calculated to answer the fantastic calls of vanity, or to administer gratification to luxury or vice; but to procure food for the hungry, and to furnish materials (scarce less important than food) for supplying the planters in two capital objects, their buildings, and packages for their chief staple productions, sugar, and rum. Of the necessity they were under on the latter account, an idea may be formed from the statement in the preceding chapter of the importation of those commodities into Great Britian; the cultivation of which must absolutely have stopped without the means of conveying them to market.

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For the supply of those essential articles, lumber, fish, flour, and grain, America seems to have been happily fitted, as well from internal circumstances, as her commodious situation; and it is to a neighbourly intercourse with that continent, continued during one hundred and thirty years, that our sugar plantations in a great measure owe their prosperity; insomuch that, according to the opinion of a very competent judge,* if the continent had been wholly in the hands of a foreign power, and the English precluded from all commerce or intercourse with it, it is a very doubtful point, whether, in such case, we should at this hour have possessed a single acre of land in the West Indies.

The following is an official account of the total import from North America into the British West Indian islands for the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, attested by Mr. Stanley, secretary to the commissioners of the customs in London, dated the 15th March 1775.

* Mr. Long.

AN account of the total import from North America into the British West Indian Islands in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773.

Species of Goods.		From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Boards and Timber,	Feet	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles -	No	59,586,194	185,000	
Staves -	No	57,998,661	27,350	
Hoops -	No	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn -	Bushs.	1,204,389	24	
Peas and Beans	Do	64,006	1,017	
Bread and Flour	Bbls.	396,329	991	
Ditto -	Kegs	13,099		
Rice -	Bbls.	39,912		
Rice -	Tierces	21,777		
Fish -	Hhds.	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto -	Bbls.	47,686	664	202
Ditto -	Quintals.	21,500	2,958	11,764
Ditto -	Kegs	3,304	609	
Beef and Pork	Bbls.	44,782	170	24
Poultry -	Dozs.	2,739	10	
Horses -	No	7,130	28	
Oxen -	No	3,647		
Sheep and Hogs	No	13,815		
Oil -	Bbls.	3,189	139	118
Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine	Do	17,024		
Masts -	No	157		
Spars -	No	3,047	30	
Shook Casks	No	53,857	40	141
Soap and Candles	Boxes	20,475		
Ox Bows and Yokes	No	1,540		
House Frames -	No	620		
Iron -	Tons	399¼		

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Of this great supply, the value at the ports of delivery, including freight, was £2,160,000 sterling, or £720 000 annually; consisting of about 1,200 annual cargoes; but it is proper to observe, that the vessels employed in this trade (which were generally sloops and schooners, single decked, and without topmasts) commonly made two, and sometimes three voyages in the year; so that the actual number never exceeded in any one year 533, which were navigated by 3,339 seamen, including negroes: of the latter, the number was estimated at about 1,000. Thus, the shortness and cheapness of the navigation in a great degree supported the trade.

The chief articles with which the British West Indian islands supplied America, in return for the produce of that continent, were sugar, rum, melasses, and coffee. Of rum, the quantity annually shipped thither, before the war, on an average of three years, was 2,800,000 gallons; and the quantity of melasses was 250,000 gallons. This last may be considered as so much additional rum, each gallon of melasses producing an equal quantity of spirit of the American proof, which augmented the annual supply of that article to 3,050,000 gallons. The supply of sugar was estimated at 5,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt.; and of coffee, at about 400,000 lbs. The value of the whole

(including some other small articles) was £420,000 sterling, leaving a balance of £300,000 in favour of the Americans, which was commonly paid in dollars, or bills of exchange, furnishing them so far with the means of remittance to Great Britian, in reduction of their debts to the British merchants.

From this account of the exports from the British West Indies to the continental colonies, it appears that America, besides affording an inexhaustible source of supply, was also a sure market for the disposal of the planter's *surplus* productions; such, I mean, for which there was no sufficient vent in Europe, especially rum; the whole importation of that article into Great Britain and Ireland, having been little more than half the quantity consumed in America. On whatever side therefore this trade is considered, it will be found that Great Britain ultimately received the chief benefits resulting from it; for the sugar planters, by being cheaply and regularly supplied with horses, provisions, and lumber, were enabled to adopt the system of management not only most advantageous to themselves, but also to the mother-country. Much of that land which otherwise must have been applied to the cultivation of provisions, for the maintenance of their negroes and the raising of cattle, was appropriated to the cultivation of sugar. By these means, the quantity

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of sugar and rum (the most profitable of their staples) had increased to a surprising degree, and the British revenues, navigation, and general commerce, were proportionably augmented, aggrandized, and extended. Having an advantageous market for their rum, the planters were enabled to deal so much the more largely with the mother-country. On the other hand, the Americans, being annually indebted to Great Britain for manufactures, in a larger sum than their returns of tobacco, indigo, rice, and naval stores, were sufficient to discharge, made up the deficiency, in a great degree, by means of their circuitous trade in the West Indies, foreign as well as British; and were thus enabled to extend their dealings with Great Britain. Thus the effect was just as advantageous to her, as if the sugar planter himself had been the purchaser to the same amount, instead of the American.*

* Dr. John Campbell in his treatise, intitled, *Candid and impartial Considerations on the Sugar Trade*, (1763) has considered this subject in the same light, and expressed himself as follows: "As the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies are continual purchasers from such as are settled upon the continent of America, the amount of their purchases constitutes a balancefrom them in favour of those of whom they purchase. But on the other hand, the inhabitants of the northern colonies drawing large and constant supplies of commodities and manufactures from hence, we, for the same reason, have a like balance in our favour against them. It is evident, therefore, that by their transferring the balance

Such having been the nature, necessity, and advantage of this commercial intercourse, there was certainly every reason to expect that, on the termination of hostilities, the system which had unavoidably been interrupted and disarranged during the war, would revive as of course, and be re-established under every possible encouragement. Accordingly, the liberal and accomplished minister, who was in the direction of the finances, lost no time in presenting to parliament a provisional bill for that purpose; a copy of which the reader will find in a note.*

due to them in satisfaction of that which is due from them to us, the whole accumulated profits ultimately centre with the inhabitants of Great Britain."

* The following is a copy of the American Intercourse Bill which was brought in by the Right Honourable William, Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer, March 1783.

"A Bill for the provisional establishment and regulation of trade and intercourse between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of North America.

"WHEREAS the following thirteen provinces of North America, namely, New Hampshire, Massachuset's Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia, have lately been solemnly acknowledged by his Majesty to be, and now are, free, independent, and sovereign States, by the name and description of the United States of America:

"Be it therefore enacted and declared by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this

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By what means these reasonable expectations of the planters, and good intentions of the minister towards them, proved ill-founded and

present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all statutes heretofore made to regulate the trade and commerce between Great Britain and the British Plantations in America, or to prohibit any intercourse between the same, shall, so far as they regulate or prohibit the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and the territories now composing the said United States of America, wholly and absolutely cease.

" And whereas, whilst the aforesaid Thirteen Provinces were annexed to and constituted a part of the dominions of Great Britain, the inhabitants of the said provinces enjoyed all rights, franchises, privileges, and benefits of British subjects born in Great Britain, as well in respect to the trade and commerce with Great Britain as in other instances; and in consequence thereof the vessels of the said inhabitants, being navigated in like manner as British ships and vessels are by law directed to be navigated, were admitted into the ports of Great Britain, with all the privileges and advantages of British-built ships:

" And whereas, by the several laws now existing, for regulation of the trade and commerce of Great Britain with foreign States, the subjects of the latter are, as aliens, liable to various commercial restrictions, and also to various duties and customs at the ports of Great Britain, which hitherto have not been applicable to, or demandable from, the inhabitants of the several provinces now composing the said United States of America.

" And whereas it is highly expedient that the intercourse between Great Britian and the said United States should be established on the most enlarged principles of reciprocal benefit to both countries: but, from the distance between

abortive, and the fatal consequences which flowed from the measures resorted to by the British government, I shall now proceed to point out.

Great Britain and America, it must be a considerable time before any convention or treaty for establishing and regulating the trade and intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States of America, upon a permanent foundation, can be concluded:

"Now, for the purpose of making a temporary regulation of the commerce and intercourse between Great Britain and the said United States of America, and in order to evince the disposition of Great Britain to be on terms of the most perfect amity with the said United States of America, and in confidence of a like friendly disposition on the part of the said United States towards Great Britian, Be it further enacted, That from and after the , the ships and vessels of the subjects and citizens of the said United States of America, with the merchandizes and goods on board the same, shall be admitted into all the ports of Great Britain in the same manner as the ships and vessels of the subjects of other independent sovereign States; but the merchandizes and goods on board such ships or vessels of the subjects or citizens of the said United States, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said United States, shall be liable to the same duties and charges only, as the same merchandizes and goods would be subject to, if they were the property of British subjects, and imported in British-built ships or vessels, navigated by British natural-born subjects.

"And be it further enacted, That during the time aforesaid, the ships and vessels of the subjects and citizens of the said United States, shall be admitted into the ports of His Majesty's islands, colonies, or plantations, in America, with any merchandizes or goods of the growth, produce, or ma-

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The preliminary articles of peace were signed at Versailles on the 27th of January 1783; soon after which, the house of commons having passed a vote of censure on the treaty (with what regard to justice or consistency, it is not my business at present to inquire) this event was followed by the resignation of the ministry by whom the treaty was adjusted. The new administration, it may be presumed, had too many objects to attend to,

nufacture, of the territories of the aforesaid United States, with liberty to export from His said Majesty's islands, colonies, or plantations in America, to the said territories of the said United States, any merchandizes or goods whatsoever; and such merchandizes and goods, which shall be so imported into, or exported from, the said British islands, colonies, or plantations, in America, shall be liable to the same duties and charges only, as the same merchandizes and goods would be subject to, if they were the property of British natural-born subjects, and imported or exported in British-built ships or vessels, navigated by British seamen.

"And be it further enacted, That during all the time herein-before limited, there shall be the same drawbacks, exemptions, and bounties, on merchandizes and goods exported from Great Britian into the territories of the said United States of America, as are allowed in the case of exportation to the islands, plantations, or colonies, now remaining, or belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in America.

"And be it further enacted, That all ships and vessels belonging to any of the citizens or subjects of the said United States of America, which shall have come into any port of Great Britain since the , together with the goods and merchandizes on board the same ships and vessels, shall have the full benefit of this act."

on their first elevation to power, to find leisure for considering the business of a commercial treaty with America. As, however, it was indispensably necessary to repeal the prohibitory laws which had existed during the war, this was done by an act passed for that purpose; but as to the rest, parliament took the shortest course possible to save themselves trouble, by vesting in the crown, for a limited time, authority to regulate the commerce with America in such manner as his majesty in council should deem expedient.*

New and extraordinary as it certainly was, that such extensive authority should be delegated by parliament to the executive power, neither this circumstance, nor the proclamation, or order of council, that issued in consquence of it, on the 2d July 1783 (afterwards renewed annually) excited much inquiry. Although by this proclamation, the importation into the British West Indies of every species of naval stores, staves, and lumber, live stock, flour, and grain of all kinds, the growth of the American states, was confined to British ships legally navigated; and the export to those states of West Indian productions, was made subject to the same restriction; while many necessary articles (as salted beef and pork, fish and train oil) formerly supplied by America, were prohibited altogether, it was considered as a measure merely temporary and ex-

* Vide Stat. 23 Geo. III. c. 39.

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perimental; and until a plan of permanent regulation should be agreed to by both countries, it was thought neither impolitic nor unjust, that Great Britain should reserve in her own hands the power of restraining or relaxing her system of commercial arrangements, as circumstances might arise to render the exercise of such a power prudent and necessary.

In these reasons the West Indian merchants, and such of the planters as were resident in Great Britain, acquiesced; but on the first meeting of a new parliament, in May 1784, (another change having taken place in the mean time in the British administration) * the business of a commercial intercourse between the West Indies and the States of America, pressed itself on the attention of government with a force which was not to be resisted. Petitions, complaints, and remonstrances, were poured in from every island in the West Indies. Some of the petitioners represented that they had not six weeks provisions in store, and all of them anticipated the most dreadful consequences, if the system of restriction should be much longer persisted in; expecting nothing

* The Right Honourable William Pitt, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer from 10th July 1782 to 5th April 1783, was re-appointed to that office, and also nominated First Lord of the Treasury, on the 27th of December 1783, soon after which the parliament was dissolved.

less than a general revolt of their slaves, in the apprehension of perishing of hunger.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the remaining continental colonies, especially such of the new settlers there as were emigrants from the United States, promised to themselves the acquisition of sudden and immense riches from the vast advance of price which it was foreseen their few exports, when no longer depressed by competition, would obtain at the West Indian markets. Every exertion, public and private, was therefore made by their friends in Great Britain, to convince administration, and innumerable pamphlets were circulated to satisfy the public, that the West Indies might be very amply supplied with every article of North American produce (rice excepted) from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the island of Saint John. Hence they not only strenuously recommended a steady adherence to the system of restriction on the part of Great Britain, but openly expressed their wishes, that the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, British ships from trading in the ports of America. The complaints and remonstrances of the West Indians, they treated as the turbulence of disappointed faction. They accused them of having abetted the American rebellion; and their apprehensions while wallowing in wealth,

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of a scarcity of food, were spurned at and ridiculed, as if hunger was no part of our nature.

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive in these, and similar arguments, a lurking taint of resentment and malignity, the relics of former provocation against the Americans; and at least as ardent a desire to wound the new republic, through the sides of the West Indians, as to benefit Nova Scotia at their expence. These passions are among the frailties of our nature, and may be forgiven. But there was another and a numerous class of people, who stood forward on this occasion, in support of the system of restriction and monopoly, on different ground: these were the ship-builders, ship-owners, and their various dependants in London; who affected to believe, that if American ships were suffered to take sugar from our islands, they would convey it—not to America, but—to foreign countries, and rob us of the carriage of it; or they might, it was alleged, enter into a competition with British ships for the freight of goods to Great Britain. To this it was answered, that a limitation of tonnage to ships employed in the American intercourse, to which the planters would not object, confining it to vessels having only one deck, and not exceeding seventy or eighty tons, must satisfy the most scrupulous on that head; inasmuch as such

vessels could never be employed in transporting sugar across the Atlantic, nor could they be got insured if such attempts should be made. But although this answer must have satisfied every well-informed and considerate person, it was found insufficient to silence the clamour which at that time was industriously propagated on the subject of the carrying-trade, as if the future existence of the commercial navigation of Great Britain had been involved in the discussion.

So vehement was the uproar, that the minister himself was compelled to give way to the torrent. Although Mr. Pitt was now placed at the head of the British administration, he found himself unable, on his return to power, to inforce his first intentions on this subject. Instead of reviving the provisional bill which, a few months before, he had presented to parliament, he thought it adviseable to refer the consideration of the whole matter to the lords of the committee of privy council for the affairs of trade, by whom many of the West Indian merchants and planters, resident in Great Britain, were interrogated on the subject; and the writer of this had the honour to be of the number. It was readily admitted by the sugar planters, that on every principle of honour, humanity, and justice, the unfortunate loyalists of Canada and Nova Scotia were entitled to

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a preference of their custom, provided those provinces possessed, in any degree, the means of supplying their wants; but this, they contended, was the main point in dispute. They therefore requested, that before any permanent regulations should be adopted by government, inquiry might be made, 1st. How much of the annual consumption of American staples those provinces had supplied hitherto? and, 2dly. how far, from their present, or probable future, situation, they might be supposed capable of exceeding their former produce and exports?

Such an inquiry was accordingly entered upon, and abundance of evidence collected on the subject; when it appeared, from the custom-house returns, that of 1208 cargoes of lumber and provisions imported from North America into the British sugar colonies, in 1772, only seven of those cargoes were from Canada and Nova Scotia; and that of 701 topsail vessels, and 1681 sloops, which had cleared outwards from North America to the British and foreign West Indies, only two of the topsail vessels, and eleven of the sloops, were from those provinces. It stood therefore incontrovertibly proved, that, previous to the war, the supplies which they afforded, did not amount to a proportion of the whole consumption of the sugar islands, in any degree worthy national attention; and, on the second ground of inquiry,

it was shewn respecting Canada, not only that the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence was so greatly obstructed by the ice in the winter, and by westerly winds in the summer, as to render more than one voyage in the year impracticable; but that in the province itself, the climate renders the crops of wheat altogether precarious. It was proved, that in the years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the scarcity in Canada had been such, as to occasion the export of all bread, wheat, and flour, to be prohibited by authority; and it was shewn that, at the very time of the inquiry, a ship in the river Thames was actually loading with flour for Quebec. On the whole, it appeared that, although in favourable seasons (as in 1774) there might sometimes be found an overplus of grain, beyond the consumption of the inhabitants, yet that a regular and sufficient supply could by no means be depended on from that province; that the frequency of disappointment must prove an insurmountable obstruction to new inhabitants settling there with a view to the cultivation of wheat; and, with regard to lumber, the price of labour in Canada was such, as to cut off all hopes of supply from thence, even if the navigation had been subject to no delay and obstacle whatever.

Respecting Nova Scotia, it was shewn that it never had, at any one period, produced grain

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sufficient for the sustenance of its inhabitants: it had never exported any lumber worthy the name of merchandize; and so far from having any to export, it appeared that a considerable importation into the province was at that time taking place, from the opposite side of the bay of Fundy, to enable the new settlers at Port Roseway to build houses for their own residence.

Lastly, as to the island of St. John, it was proved that, like Nova Scotia, it had never yet furnished food enough to keep its few inhabitants alive, nor exported any one article the produce of the island. Its situation, within the gulph of Saint Lawrence, shut it up from all intercourse during five months of the year; and its fogs, more prevalent and durable than even those of Nova Scotia, rendered the country too uncomfortable for population, while land remained unoccupied in happier climates.

The advocates for the prohibitory system, however, were not easily silenced. They declared it would be more for the interest of Great Britain, that the West Indians should be deprived of American supplies altogether, rather than, by receiving them from the United States in American vessels, contribute to aggrandize the naval power of the new republic. They maintained, that the sugar islands had resources within themselves, which, with occa-

sional aid from Great Britain, might enable them to exist very comfortably, even though the accustomed intercourse with all parts of the American continent was entirely cut off. If not, it was triumphantly asked, in what manner were they supported during the war, when all regular communication with the United States was suppressed?

In reply to this objection, it was proved that the British sugar islands, during the war, had been very badly supplied, both with lumber and provisions; and at an expence which, if it had continued, would have been equally ruinous with the not being supplied at all. Their chief resource was the American vessels that had been captured in their way to the French islands; a resource which had terminated with the war, and at best proved so uncertain and inadequate, that many of the British islands had been driven by necessity to the worst of all applications (as British colonists) of their labour; the raising provisions, and cutting lumber upon their own estates. Instead of directing their attention to the culture of those valuable and bulky staples which contribute, in so eminent a degree, to form the dignified mass of support which the British navigation derives from her distant colonies, they had been compelled to change their system. They had abandoned the cultivation of sugar, and applied their land and labour to the purposes of

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raising food. In what degree the British navigation and commerce had suffered by this measure, the custom-house books would demonstrate;—from that authority it would appear, that in 1777, previous to the capture by the French of any of the sugar islands, the import of sugar into England only, had fallen short of the import of 1774 upwards of 45,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt.; in value nearly one million, creating a loss in freight of 150,000*l.* on that article alone, and a defalcation in the public revenue of 300*l.* a day, for every day in the year! Here then, it was said, was a full and satisfactory refutation of the popular clamour on the subject of the carrying trade. Compared with these losses, and their consequences to every part of the empire, so inconsiderable, so truly contemptible was the trifling interference of American shalops, carrying food to invigorate the hungry labourer, and timbers to repair mills and houses, that it seemed not to be an object deserving a moment's solicitude in the breast of a great nation.

Such were, in part, the evidence and arguments offered on behalf of the West Indies; and if the question had met with unprejudiced and temperate discussion, I am inclined to think, notwithstanding the jealous and monopolizing spirit of traffic, that regulations widely different from the present system of

restriction and exclusion towards America, would have been established; but, unfortunately, the private interests of some, and the prejudices and passions of others, were allowed to mingle in the investigation. I am aware that, in common cases, it ill becomes an undistinguished individual to arraign the wisdom and propriety of the national councils; but, although there is a degree of respect due to men in authority, which I would willingly preserve, yet I dare not maintain it either by the violation or the suppression of truth. The consequences which flowed from the proceedings recommended and adopted on this occasion, will presently be seen; and they cannot be remembered with indifference. To suppress facts, therefore, in which the interests of humanity are so deeply concerned, is to sacrifice both the dignity and utility of history; the great end of which is to make the errors and misconduct of one set of men, a lesson and a warning to their successors.

The case was, to speak plainly and undisguisedly, that the committee of council, to whom the consideration of this important business devolved (with the best intentions I believe, for it cannot be supposed that they wished to injure the West Indian colonies) suffered themselves to be guided in their researches by men who had resentments to gratify, and secret purposes to promote. Some of these were persons whom

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America had proscribed for their loyalty, and unjustly deprived of their possessions. That they had become, on this account, objects of compassion, and claimants on the public of Great Britain, I have no wish to deny; but, without doubt, they were the last men in the world whose opinions should have been adopted, concerning the establishment of a system of reciprocity and conveniency between the mother-country, and that which they had left. To suppose that such men were capable of giving an impartial and unbiassed testimony in such a case, is to suppose they had divested themselves of the common feelings of mankind.

The first inquiries of the committee of council (thus influenced) were directed to disprove the assertions contained in an address of the assembly of Jamaica, concerning the distress in which that island was stated to be, at that time, involved, from the want of provisions and lumber. Although those assertions were abundantly confirmed by the declarations and subsequent conduct of the governor himself, to whom the address was presented;* their lordships reported, that the assembly were by no means warranted in the strong terms they had used; it appearing, they said, "from private letters laid before them, that the scarcity complained of *did not exist*." When their

* Sir Arch. Campbell.

lordships were humbly desired to communicate the names of the parties who had written such letters, that some judgment might be formed what degree of credit was due to their testimony, against that of the legislature of the colony, they refused, with tokens of manifest displeasure, to disclose them.

Their lordships, in the next place, proceeded to estimate the resources of Canada and Nova Scotia; and in contradiction to the evidence and conclusions which had been given and adduced by the West Indian merchants and planters, they asserted, in general terms, "that the exportation of grain from Canada would revive and increase, provided the West Indian market was secured to the inhabitants of that province;" and they added, "that several persons of great experience were of opinion, that an annual export of 300,000 bushels might in a few years be depended on." They admitted that the natural impediments in the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence, might affect the supply of lumber, but denied that this circumstance would injure the trade in flour. They stated, "that Nova Scotia would be able in about three years to supply great quantities of lumber, and most of the other articles which the West Indies are in want of from North America, provided grants of land were properly made and secured to the inhabitants; for that

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(although the sea-coast is rocky and barren) the interior parts, and the banks of the rivers, have as fine a soil as any part of the world, *admirably fitted for dairy farms, and the growth of garden vegetables.*"

They averred, "that the climate of Nova Scotia is fine and healthy; that the new settlers were industrious; and that the neutral French who still remain (when no longer in a precarious state with respect to the government under which they are to live) would probably follow the example of the new settlers, and learn from them to improve the country; especially if due encouragement should be given to their industry, by securing them proper markets." Their lordships were further assured, from good authority, that upon the like encouragement, the population of Nova Scotia would be increased.

Such a detail of probabilities, provisoes, and possible contingencies, with the mention, among other resources, of *dairy farms and garden vegetables*, seemed to the disappointed planters, something very like derision and mockery. They complained, that instead of assurances of relief, they were put off with airy conjectures, with frivolous *ifs* and *may bes*, with promises inconsistent with the laws of nature, and with declarations negatived both by experience and reason!

In truth, the argument which appeared to have most weight with their lordships themselves, was that which (tacitly admitting all expectation of supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to be chimerical and delusive) took for granted, that by excluding American ships from the ports of the West Indies, Great Britain would find full employment for as many additional vessels as America formerly employed in that commerce, and reap all the profits which America reaped, of which they calculated the freightage alone at the annual sum of 245,000*l.* sterling.

On the whole, the lords of the committee strongly recommended a strict and rigid adherence to the measure of confining the intercourse between our West Indian islands and America, to British ships only, as a regulation of absolute necessity; considering any deviation from it, as exposing the commerce and navigation of Great Britain to the rivalry of revolted subjects, now become ill-affected aliens. They expressed, indeed, some apprehension, lest the congress of the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, British vessels from being the carriers between them and the British West Indies; but seemed to think this circumstance not very probable, inasmuch as the people of the United States would in that case, they said, suffer much more than any

of his majesty's subjects; a conclusion not very decisive; the experience of all ages abundantly proving, that considerations of interest are frequently overpowered by motives of resentment.

These doctrines and opinions of the lords of the committee of council were unfortunately approved and adopted in their fullest extent by the British government; and the only solitary hope which now remained to the inhabitants of the West Indies was, that the apprehension of their lordships, concerning American retaliation, was ill-founded; and that the United States, notwithstanding the prohibitory system of Great Britain, would still open their ports to British shipping; and freely indulge them with the liberty of importing the products of the British sugar islands, carrying away American produce in return. The planters could not indeed but foresee a very great expence, delay, and uncertainty attending such circuitous navigation; but to this they were prepared to submit, as the only alternative of escaping inevitable and impending destruction.

But there was this misfortune attending the sugar planters, that their wants were immediate; and of a complexion affecting not only property, but life. Whatever resources might ultimately be found in the opulence and faculties of the mother-country, it was impossible, in

the nature of things, to expect from so distant a quarter an adequate supply to a vast and various demand, coming suddenly and unexpectedly. Many of the sugar islands too had suffered dreadfully under two tremendous hurricanes, in 1780 and 1781, in consequence whereof (had it not been for the casual assistance obtained from prize-vessels) one-half of their negroes must absolutely have perished of hunger. Should similar visitations occur, the most dreadful apprehensions would be realized; and I am sorry to add, *that realized they were!*

I have now before me a report of a committee of the assembly of Jamaica, on the subject of the slave trade, wherein the loss of negroes in that island, in consequence of those awful concussions of nature, and the want of supplies from America, is incidentally stated. It is a document of the best authority; and the following extract from it, while it abundantly acquits the West Indian merchants and planters from the charge of turbulence and faction, which on this occasion was illiberally brought against them, will, I hope, serve as an awful lesson to future ministers how they suffer the selfishness of party, and the prejudice of personal resentment, to have an influence in the national councils.

"We shall now (say the committee) point out the principal causes to which this mortality

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of our slaves is justly chargeable. It is but too well known to the house, that in the several years 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, and 1786, it pleased Divine Providence to visit this island with repeated hurricanes, which spread desolation throughout most parts of the island; but the parishes which suffered more remarkably than the rest, were those of Westmoreland, Hanover, Saint James, Trelawney, Portland, and Saint Thomas in the East. By these destructive visitations, the plantain walks, which furnish the chief article of support to the negroes, were generally rooted up, and the intense droughts which followed, destroyed those different species of ground provisions which the hurricanes had not reached. The storms of 1780 and 1781 happening during the time of war, no foreign supplies, except a trifling assistance from prize-vessels, could be obtained on any terms, and a famine ensued in the leeward parts of the island, which destroyed many thousand negroes. After the storm of the 30th of July 1784, the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his council, published a proclamation, dated the 7th of August, permitting the free importation of provisions and lumber in foreign bottoms, for four months from that period. As this was much too short a time to give sufficient notice, and obtain all the supplies that were necessary, the small quantities of flour, rice, and

other provisions, which were imported in consequence of the proclamation, soon rose to so exorbitant a price as to induce the assembly, on the 9th of November following, to present an address to the lieutenant-governor, requesting him to prolong the term until the latter end of March, 1785; observing, that it was impossible for the natural productions of the country to come to such maturity as to be wholesome food before that time. The term of four months not being expired when this address was presented, the lieutenant-governor declined to comply therewith; but on the 1st of December following, the house represented, that a prolongation of the term was then absolutely necessary. They observe that, persuaded of the reluctance with which his honour would be brought to deviate from regulations which he felt himself bound to observe, it would give them much concern to address him on the same occasion a second time, were they not convinced that it was in a case of such extreme necessity as to justify such a deviation. Accordingly the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his Majesty's council, directed, that the time formerly limited should be extended to the 31st of January then next ensuing (1785): but, at the same time, he informed the house, that he was not at liberty to deviate any longer

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from the regulations which had been established in Great Britain.

"From the 31st of January, 1785, therefore, the ports continued shut, and the sufferings of the poor negroes, in consequence thereof, for some months afterwards, were extreme. Providentially, the seasons became more favourable about May, and considerable quantities of corn and ground provisions were gathered in by the month of August; when the fourth storm happened, and the lieutenant-governor immediately shut the ports against the exportation of any of our provisions to the French and Spanish islands, which were supposed to have suffered more than ourselves; but not thinking himself at liberty to permit the importation of provisions in American vessels, the productions of the country were soon exhausted, and the usual attendants of scanty and unwholesome diet, dropsies and epidemic dysenteries, were again dreadfully prevalent in the spring and summer of 1786, and proved fatal to great numbers of the negroes in all parts of the country.

"On the 20th of October in that year, happened the fifth dreadful hurricane, which again laid waste the leeward parishes, and completed the tragedy. We decline to enlarge on the consequences which followed, lest we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the subject will

admit, the number of our slaves whose destruction may be fairly attributed to these repeated calamities, and the unfortunate measure of interdicting foreign supplies, and for this purpose compared the imports and returns of negroes for the last seven years, with those of seven years preceding, we hesitate not, after every allowance for adventitious causes, to fix the whole loss at fifteen thousand: THIS NUMBER WE FIRMLY BELIEVE TO HAVE PERISHED OF FAMINE, OR OF DISEASES CONTRACTED BY SCANTY AND UNWHOLESOME DIET, BETWEEN THE LATTER END OF 1780, AND THE BEGINNING OF 1787."

Such (without including the loss of negroes in the other islands, and the consequent diminution in their cultivation and returns) was the price at which Great Britain thought proper to retain her exclusive right of supplying her sugar islands with food and necessaries! Common charity must compel us to believe (as I verily *do* believe) that this dreadful proscription of so many thousand innocent people, the poor, unoffending negroes, was neither intended nor foreseen by those who recommended the measures that produced it. Certainly no such proof was wanting to demonstrate that the resentments of party too frequently supersede the common feelings of our nature. It is indeed true, that the evil did at length in some measure furnish

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its own remedy. The inhabitants of Jamaica, by appropriating part of their lands and labour to the raising of provisions, and the hewing of staves, found some resource within themselves; and, happily for the other islands, the United States did not, as was apprehended, adopt any scheme of retaliation; so that British vessels ultimately obtained the profits of the carriage (whatever it was) between the West Indies and America; and thus at length the system became recognized and confirmed by the legislature.*

* By the 28th Geo. III. c. 6. which took effect the 4th of April, 1788, it is enacted, "That no goods or commodities whatever shall be imported or brought from any of the territories belonging to the United States of America, into any of his Majesty's West India Islands (in which description the Bahama Islands, and the Bermuda, or Somers Islands, are included) under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and also of the ship or vessel in which the same shall be imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel; except tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, masts, yards, bowsprits, staves, heading, boards, timber, shingles, and lumber of any sort; horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and live stock of any sort; bread, biscuit, flour, peas, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and grain of any sort, such commodities, respectively, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the said United States of America. And that none of the goods or commodities hereinbefore excepted, enumerated, and described, shall be imported or brought into any of the said islands from the territories of the said United States, under the like penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and also of the ship or vessel in which the same shall be so imported or brought, together with all

But, whatever benefit has accrued to the mother-country, from the regulations and arrangements which the British parliament thus confirmed and perpetuated, it is certain that her remaining colonies in North America, at whose instance and for whose benefit the scheme of exclusion and restriction was principally promoted, derived few or none of those advantages from the measure, which they had promised to themselves in the outset. They discovered, when it was too late, that the decrees of Providence were irrevocable. The river St. Lawrence remained, as usual, locked up seven months in the year by an impenetrable barrier of ice; and Nova Scotia still continued inexorably sterile; so much so in-

her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, except by British subjects and in British-built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law.—By another clause, none of the aforesaid articles are to be brought from any of the foreign islands, under the like penalty, except in times of public emergency and distress, when the governors of any of our islands, with the advice and consent of the council, may authorise the importation of them by British subjects in British-built ships for a limited time." Such is the law as it now stands with regard to the import of American articles into the British West Indies. Concerning the export of British West Indian produce to the United States, it is permitted to export, in ships British-built and owned, any goods or commodities whatsoever, which were not, at the time of passing the act, prohibited to be exported to any foreign country in Europe, and also sugar, melasses, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento; bond being given for the due landing of the same in the United States.

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deed, that the very men who, in 1784, had confidently represented this province as being capable, in the course of three years, of supplying all the West Indies with lumber and provisions, found it necessary, at the end of those three years, to apply for and obtain the insertion of a clause in the prohibitory act, to authorize the admission of both lumber and provisions into that province from the United States. On this circumstance it is unnecessary to anticipate the reflections of the reader!

In consequence of this permission, there were shipped in the year 1790, from the United States to Nova Scotia alone, 540,000 staves and heading, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 shingles, and 16,000 hoops; 40,000 barrels of bread and meal, and 80,000 bushels of grain; an irrefragable proof that Canada had no surplus of either lumber or grain beyond her own consumption, or undoubtedly the Canadian market would have been resorted to, in preference to that of the United States. And thus vanished all the golden dreams and delusive promises of a sufficient supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to answer the wants of the West Indies; and the predictions of the planters and merchants have been verified and confirmed by the experience of years. I regret that I am unable to furnish the reader with an accurate account of the actual exports from those provinces to the West Indies since the war (the report of the

committee of council on the slave trade, though fraught with information in all other cases that relate to the commerce of the colonies, being silent on this head), or of the fish which they send annually to the sugar islands. The quantity of this latter article imported into the British West Indies from Newfoundland, on an average of four years (1783 to 1786, both inclusive) was 80,645 quintals.*

The exports, for the year 1787, from the British sugar islands to all our remaining American possessions, Newfoundland included, consisted of 9,891 cwt. of sugar, 874,580 gallons of rum, 81 cwt. of cacao, 4 cwt. of ginger, 26,380 gallons of melasses, 200 lbs. of pimento, 575 cwt of coffee, 1,750 lbs. of cotton wool, and

* The imports into Jamaica from Canada, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, between 3d of April 1783, and the 26th of October 1784, have been stated in a report of the Assembly of that Island. The "negative catalogue" is very copious. No flour, no ship-bread or biscuit, no Indian corn, or other meal,—no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or poultry.—The only provisions were, one hundered and eighty bushels of potatoes, and 751 hogsheads and about 500 barrels of salted fish,—rather a scanty allowance for the maintenance of 30,000 white people, and 250,000 blacks, for the space of nineteen months!—Of lumber, &c. the quantity was 510,088 feet, 20 bundles of hoops, and 301,324 shingles.—Previous to the war, on an average of the five years from 1768 to 1772, the whole imports into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, were 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogsheads of fish, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, 36,000 shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

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some small articles, fruit, &c. of little account; the value of the whole, agreeably to the current prices in London, was £100,506 17*s.* 10*d.* sterling, and the shipping to which it gave employment was nominally 17,873 tons, navigated by 1,397 seamen. As this however includes repeated voyages, the quantity of tonnage and the number of men must be reduced one-half.

To the United States of America the same year the exports in British shipping were these: 19,921 cwt. of sugar, 1,620,205 gallons of rum, 124½ cwt. of cacao, 339 cwt. of ginger, 4,200 gallons of melasses, 6,450lbs. of pimento, 3,246 lbs. of coffee, 3000 lbs. of cotton wool, 291 hides, and 737 barrels of fruit.

The value in sterling money, according to the prices current in London, was £196,460 8*s.* as hath been stated in the former chapter.* The amount of the freight on these exports, and also on American productions supplied the West Indies, is the monopoly which Great Britain has exacted by her late regulations. It cannot therefore be said, that if she has lost much, she has gained nothing; but estimating her profit at the utmost, to what does it amount, compared with the cost of the purchase? Admitting it even to stand at the sum fixed by the committee of coun-

* Number of vessels (including repeated voyages (386, tonnage 43,380, men 2,854.

cil,* how subordinate is such a consideration, when placed in competition with the future growth and profitable existence of our sugar islands, the whole of whose acquirements centre in the bosom of the mother-country, enriching her manufactures, encouraging her fisheries, upholding the credit of her funds, supporting the value of her lands, and augmenting, through a thousand channels, her commerce, navigation, revenues, strength, wealth, and prosperity!

On the whole, it is a consideration of very serious importance that the benefits of the present restraining system are by no means commensurate to the risk which is incurred from it. Jamaica, it is true, in time of scarcity, may find some resource within herself, and America has not yet adopted, and perhaps may not adopt, measures of retaliation; but it must always be remembered, that every one of the West Indian islands is occasionally subject to hurricanes, and many of them to excessive droughts, which, by destroying all the products of the earth, leave the wretched negroes no dependence but on imported provisions supplied them by their owners. Antigua has been frequently rendered by this calamity a scene of desolation, as it was particularly in 1770, and twice again, in the years 1773 and 1778

* £245,000 sterling.

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Should the same irresistible visitation overtake these unfortunate countries hereafter,—as the planters have no vessels of their own, and those of America are denied admittance into their ports,—how are even the most opulent among them to avert from their unhappy labourers the miseries of famine, which in a like case swept off such numbers in Jamaica? Concerning the permission that is held out to the planters to resort, in time of emergency, to the foreign islands, it is so manifestly nugatory, that I choose not to speak of it in the language which my feelings would dictate.*

Compared with the danger thus impending over the feeble and defenceless Africans, the inconveniency which of late has been felt and complained of in Great Britain, from the high price of West Indian commodities, deserves not the consideration of a moment. It is the necessary and unavoidable consequence of our own arrangements. Yet, perhaps, it is this circumstance alone that comes home to our feelings; and to this cause, more than to any

* Under the present limited intercourse with America (exclusive of the uncertainty of being supplied at all) the West Indians are subject to three sets of devouring monopolists. 1st. The British ship-owners. 2d. Their agents at the ports in America. 3d. Their agents or factors at the chief ports in the islands, all of whom exact an unnatural profit from the planter; by which means those most essential necessaries, staves and lumber, have risen in price no

other, I verily believe, may be attributed the clamour which has been industriously excited against the planters, concerning their supposed ill usage of their negroes. Discontent at the high price of sugar is called sympathy for the wretched, and the murmurs of avarice become the dictates of humanity. What inconsistency can be more gross and lamentable! We accuse the planter of cruelty to his slaves, and contemplate, at the same time, with approbation or indifference, our own commercial policy, under which many thousands of those unhappy people have already perished, and to which (I grieve to add) many thousands more will probably fall a sacrifice!

less than 37 *per cent.* as the following comparative table will demonstrate:

Prices of staves, lumber, &c. at Kingston, Jamaica, during two periods; the first from 1772 *to* 1775 *(both years inclusive) the second from* 1788 *to* 1791.

First Period,		1772. L. s.	1773. L. s.	1774. L. s.	1775. L. s.
Red Oak Staves	*per* M.	8 0	8 0	8 10	9 0
White Oak Staves	*per* M.	9 10	9 10	10 0	11 0
Pitch-pine Lumber	*per* M.	8 0	9 0	9 10	10 3
Common Lumber	*per* M.	6 10	7 10	8 10	9 10
22 Inch Shingles	*per* M.	2 0	2 5	2 10	2 10

Second Period,		1788. L. s.	1789. L. s.	1790. L. s.	1791. L. s.
Red Oak Staves	*per* M.	14 10	14 0	10 10	12 0
White Oak Staves	*per* M.	15 0	15 0	11 0	12 0
Pitch-pine Lumber	*per* M.	14 0	12 5	11 10	12 0
Common Lumber	*per* M.	13 0	10 0	9 10	10 0
22 Inch Shingles	*per* M.	3 0	3 0	2 15	2 15

APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER IV. OF BOOK VI.

BOOK VI.

THIS work having (1799) reached a third edition, it is with infinite satisfaction the author has an opportunity, in this place, of presenting to his readers the 12th article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, concluded at London, the 19th of November, 1794, and finally ratified by the American House of Representatives on the 30th of April, 1796. What effect the author's arguments in the preceding chapter produced on this occasion, he presumes not to say. That some of the facts which he stated had a very considerable influence on the minds of his Majesty's ministers, he has been assured from high authority; and indeed it were injurious to the character of those ministers to suppose that they had not. The 12th article is expressed in the words following: "XII. His Majesty consents, that it shall and may be lawful, during the time "hereinafter limited, for the citizens of the United States "to carry to any of his Majesty's islands and ports in the "West Indies from the United States, *in their own vessels, "not being above the burthen of seventy tons*, any goods or "merchandizes, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said States, which it is or may be lawful to "carry to the said islands or ports from the said States in "British vessels; and that the said American vessels shall "be subject there to no other or higher tonnage duties

" or charges than shall be payable by British vessels in " the ports of the United States; and that the cargoes of " the said American vessels shall be subject there to no " other or higher duties or charges than shall be payable on " the like articles if imported there from the said States in " British vessels.

" And his Majesty also consents, that it shall be lawful " for the said American citizens to purchase, load, and " carry away in their said vessels, to the United States, " from the said islands and ports, all such articles, being of " the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said islands, " as may now by law be carried from thence to the said " States in British vessels, and subject only to the same du- " ties and charges on exportation to which British vessels " and their cargoes are or shall be subject in similiar circum- " stances.

" Provided always, that the said American vessels do " carry and land their cargoes in the United States only; " it being expressly agreed and declared, that, during the " continuance of this article, the United States will pro- " hibit and restrain the carrying any melasses, sugar, coffee, " cocoa, or cotton, in American vessels, either from his " Majesty's islands or from the United States, to any part " of the world, except the United States, reasonable sea- " stores excepted.

" Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful, during " the same period, for British vessels to import from the " said islands into the United States, and to export from " the United States to the said islands, all articles what- " ever, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of " the said islands, or of the United States respectively, " which may now by the laws of the said States be so im- " ported and exported; and that the cargoes of the said " British vessels shall be subject to no other or higher du- " ties or charges, than shall be payable on the same articles " if so imported or exported in American vessels.

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" It is agreed that this article, and every matter and " thing therein contained, shall continue to be in force " during the continuance of the war in which his Majesty " is now engaged; and also for two years from and after the " day of the signature of the perliminary or other articles of " peace by which the same may be terminated.

" And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the " said term, the two contracting parties will endeavour " further to regulate their commerce in this respect, ac- " cording to the situation in which his Majesty may then " find himself with respect to the West Indies, and with " a view to such arrangements as may best conduce to the " mutual advantage and extension of commerce."

CHAPTER V.

Charges brought against the Planters introductory of Opinions and Doctrines the Design of which is to prove, that the Settlement of the British Plantations was improvident and unwise.—Testimony of the Inspector-General on this subject, and Animadversions thereon.—Erroneous Idea concerning a distinct Interest between Great Britain and her Sugar Islands.—The National Income and the Profits of Individuals arising from those Islands considered separately.—Opinions of Postlethwaite and Child.—Whether the Duties on West Indian Commodities imported fall on the Consumer, and in what Cases?—Drawbacks and Bounties: Explanation of those terms, and their Origin and Propriety traced and demonstrated.—Of the Monopoly-compact; its Nature and Origin.—Restrictions on the Colonists enumerated; and the benefits resulting thereform to the Mother Country pointed out and illustrated. — Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the West Indies to refine their raw Sugar for the British Consumption.—Unjust Clamours raised in Great Britain on any temporary Advance of the West Indian Staples.

—Project of establishing Sugar Plantations in the East Indies under the Protection of Government considered.—Remonstrance which might be offered against this and other Measures.—Conclusion.

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AFTER so copious a display as hath been given of the prodigiously increased value of these important islands, during the space of a century and a half, which have nearly elapsed since their first settlement, it may be supposed that the conduct of Great Britain towards them (notwithstanding the proceedings on which I have presumed to animadvert in the foregoing chapter) has generally been founded in kindness and liberality; and that the murmurs and complaints which have sometimes proceeded from the planters, when new and heavy duties have been laid on their staples, have been equally ungrateful and unjust; the fastidious peevishness of opulent folly, and surfeited prosperity.

Charges to this effect have indeed been frequently urged against the planters of the West Indies, with a spirit of bitterness and rancour, which inclines one to think, that a small degree of envy (excited, perhaps, by the splendid appearance of a few opulent individuals among them resident in Great Britain) is blended in the accusation. They would therefore have remained unnoticed by me, were they not, on frequent occa-

sions, introductory of doctrines and opinions as extraordinary in their nature, as dangerous in their tendency; for, supported as they are by persons of ability and influence, they cannot fail, if adopted by ministers, and carried from the national councils into measures, to widen our recent wounds, and make a general massacre of our whole system of colonization.

Of these doctrines and opinions, so far as they concern the British plantations in the West Indies, the following is a fair abstract and abridgement:

First. That the sugar islands have been settled by British capitals which might have been employed to greater advantage at home, in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain.

Secondly. That the money expended upon West Indian estates, is in general far from yielding a profitable return to the nation, inasmuch as even a good crop does not leave the owner so much as sixty *per cent.* on his capital, after payment of expenses.

Thirdly. That the duties on West Indian commodities fall altogether on the consumer.

Fourthly. That the several prohibitory laws which have been made, tending to force the consumption of British West Indian produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, have

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vested in the planters a complete monopoly of the British market, at the cost, and to the manifest injury, of the British consumer, who might otherwise purchase sugars, &c. from the foreign islands, 20 or 30 *per cent.* cheaper in those of Great Britain.

Fifthly. That from this great disparity of price between British and foreign sugars, the former cannot be made an object of export from Great Britain by any other means than by granting drawbacks and bounties out of the exchequer; the British exporter being otherwise unable to stand the competition of prices in the foreign market:—a policy which is pronounced to be dangerous and destructive.

The inference which is drawn from these premises is plainly this: that, considering the expense of protecting them in war, the settlement of sugar plantations in the West Indies was improvident and unwise; and that their further extension and improvement would not promote the general interests of the British empire.

It is probable that these, and similar notions of the same tendency, but of more extensive application, were originally disseminated with no other view, than, by depreciating the value and importance of all colonial settlements, to reconcile the nation to those rash and inconsiderate proceedings which terminated in the loss of

America. They have had their day; and like other speculations and endeavours as vain and ineffectual, might have been consigned, without injury, to oblivion. As, however, the manifest aim of such doctrines is to induce the legislature to adopt measures that in their consequences may check and impede the further progress of the colonists in a line of cultivation, in which, under the express encouragement, they have already embarked their fortunes, and applied their faculties, it becomes necessary, in a work of this kind, to consider them with some degree of attention.

It might indeed be alleged, and with great truth, that nothing can more clearly expose the nakedness of that doctrine which affects to consider the sugar islands as unprofitable to the nation, than a plain and simple display of the productions which they furnish, the market which they create for our manufactures, and the shipping to which they give employment. And such a display hath already been exhibited in the preceding chapters; but unfortunately there prevail many popular prejudices against the colonies, which are difficult to remove, because they are founded not in reason but selfishness. Opinions thus entrenched, are only to be encountered by recalling to the public attention, such established principles and facts

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as, being built on experience, neither sophistry can perplex, nor self-interest elude.

In most of the late speculative systems that I have seen, which have treated of the British colonies, there appears this great and fundamental error, that their interests in general are considered as distinct from, and in some respects opposed to, the general interests of the empire. We speak of them indeed as *our* colonies, and of their inhabitants as *our* subjects; but in our dealings, we are apt to regard them with a spirit of rivalry or jealousy, as an unconnected or hostile people, whose prosperity is our detriment, and whose gain is our loss.

Intimations to this effect were, I admit, promulgated by very able writers at an early period, concerning New England, and some other of the colonies in North America; but none of those writers ever considered the plantations in the West Indies in the same point of view. They knew that the greatest benefit of colonies, is the production of staple commodities different from those of the mother-country; an advantage almost peculiar to such of our plantations as are situated in the southern latitudes. This necessary distinction seems however to have escaped the notice even of those who admit that the money which is vested in the sugar islands, is in fact British property, and that the profits and

returns arising from it, centre in Great Britain, and no where else; another advantage peculiar to our West Indian settlements. Yet the truth undoubtedly is, that the sugar planters, generally speaking, are but so many agents or stewards for their creditors and annuitants in the mother-country; or if in some few instances, they are independent proprietors themselves, it is in Great Britain alone that their incomes are expended, and their fortunes ultimately vested. The produce of the sugar islands therefore ought, in all reason, to be considered as standing precisely on the same footing with the produce of the mother-country. The sugar made in them is raised by British subjects, and the sale of it (as far as it can answer any profitable purpose to Great Britain) confined to the British market. In the actual consumption of the commodity within the kingdom, the money which it costs is only transferred from the hand of one inhabitant into that of another: hence, be the price high or low, the nation at large is not one shilling the richer nor the poorer on that account. But, of whatever is consumed at home, the value is saved, and of whatever is exported abroad, and paid for by foreigners, the amount is so much clear gain to the kingdom.*

* It is the practice with some writers, in treating of foreign commerce, to consider every branch of it as unfa-

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Neither ought the national profits arising from their cultivation, to be estimated, in any degree, by the profits which are made by the several individual cultivators. The income which the nation derives from her sugar plantations, comprehends the *whole* of their produce. The income of the cultivators consists only of the very small proportion of that produce which is left to them, after paying duties to government, freights and commissions to the British merchants, and the interest of their debts to British creditors. It is indeed very possible that a concern may be lucrative to the public, which is ruinous to the individual. That the nation has been benefited in ten thousand ways from her plantations in the West Indies, no man of common sense or common candour ever denied, until the motives that I have already assigned, gave birth

vourable to the nation, in which the imports are of greater value than the exports: that is, they strike a balance on the custom-house entries, and consider the excess either way, as the measure of the national advantages, or disadvantages, of such a trade. Perhaps the application of this rule to most branches of foreign commerce (rightly so called) is not improper; and it will extend, I am afraid, in a great degree, to our trade with the East Indies; but from what has been said in the text, the reader will perceive the gross absurdity of bringing our intercourse with the West Indies to the same standard; and that our *import from*, and not *export to*, them is to be considered as the measure of their value.

to a contrary pretence; and that many individual proprietors have, at the same time, suffered considerably by adventuring therein, I am afraid it is too notorious to dispute.

But the argument that comes more immediately home to the bulk of the community, is the very prevalent idea which I have before slightly noticed, that all the products of the British West Indies, and more especially the great article sugar, are from twenty to thirty *per cent.* dearer than those of the plantations. Against this circumstance, (if it were well founded) it might seem sufficient to oppose the national benefit arising generally from the whole system; but the consumer, mindful of himself only, conceives that he ought to have permission to purchase sugar at the cheapest rate, wherever he can procure it. The refiner, whose aim it is to buy cheap and sell dear, claims the same privilege; to which indeed there would be less objection, if he would consent that another part of his fellow-subjects, the growers of the commodity, should enjoy the same freedom from commercial restraint which he requires for himself. Unluckily, however, the fact itself is altogether destitute of foundation. The existence of such disparity of price, independent of accidental and temporary fluctuations, is neither true nor possible, as is demonstrated by the magnitude of the British export, both of raw and refined

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sugar, for the supply of foreign markets; it being evident, that foreigners would not resort to our market for the purchase of a commodity, which they might buy cheaper at home:* nor do I re-

* Respecting the French sugar islands, I can speak of my own knowledge. Most of their largest planters having adopted the practice of *claying*, they pay less attention to the manufacture of good *muscavado* than is given to it in our islands. This latter therefore, being generally of inferior quality, may be sold proportionally cheaper than ours; but whenever it is of equal goodness, the price also is equal, and sometimes higher. Of twelve samples of muscavado sugar produced to me in Saint Domingo, as of the best quality of *sucre brût* made in that island, I could not honestly pronounce that any one was well manufactured; and I am persuaded I could have purchased better sugars in Jamaica at a less price than was asked for those. This was in 1791, soon after the revolt of the slaves, when it might have been supposed that the distresses of the French planters would have compelled them to sell their sugars more reasonably than they have done for several years before. In fact, the only *datum* for ascertaining the relative value of foreign and British sugar, is the price of each *at the colonial market*; instead of which, the price always referred to, is *the price in Europe*, after the charges of freight, duty, &c. are added to the original cost. The not attending to this necessary distinction, has probably given rise to the very erroneous idea above noticed, which has occasioned more ill-will and groundless complaint against the British sugar planter, than any other circumstance. While I am on this subject, it may not be improper to take some notice of the disparity between the profits obtained on their sugar by the British and French planters in Great Britain and France. In a French publication of character,* the author states

* Reflections d'un Vieillard, &c. 1785.

collect when it was otherwise. There was indeed a time when England, having no plantations of her own, was compelled to purchase of foreign nations, and at their own prices, many ar- CHAP. V.

the whole year's import into France on an average at 130,000 casks, valued at 90 millions of livres, equal to 3,937,500*l.* sterling.

Against this value he sets the duties and imposts, viz.	Livres.	
Duties of the western domain - -	5,600,000 -	£.245,000
Ditto in the West Indies - - -	7,344,000 - -	321,300
		566,300
Ditto on 50,000 casks consumed or refined in France	4,592,000 - -	200,900
Total of imposts and duties, including the charges of government, civil and military, in the islands - - - -		- 767,200

	£.	t.	d.
According to this statement, these sugars are valued *per* cask, at - - - -	30	5	9¼
And the duties thereon estimated at - - - - -	5	8	0
Leaves clear of duties -	24	17	9¼ sterl. money.

Let us now look to British sugars.

I suppose 14 cwt. a good average weight *per* cask at sale, and that 2*l.* 5*s.* *per* cwt. was a high medium of price in Great Britain (duty, &c. included) for several years previous to the revolt of the slaves in St. Domingo:

I compute the public charges, civil and military, paid in our islands by grant of assembly, at not less than 200,000*l.* *per annum*:

And that this rests as charges upon their sugars of about two shillings *per* cwt.

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ticles of prime necessity, for a supply of which, those very nations now resort to the British market. " Before the settlement of our colonies (says Postlethwaite) our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent. In those days, we had not only our naval stores, but our ships, from our neighbours. Germany furnished us

The amount of these colonial imposts upon a cask of 14 cwt. will therefore be - - -	£.1 8 0
The British duties which were formerly paid on importation were 12*s.* 3½*d. per* cwt. -	8 12 0
In all, *per* cask - - -	£.10 0 0
Then, supposing the gross value of one cask of 14 cwt. at 45*s. per* cwt. to be - - -	£.31 10 0
Deduct public imposts and duties - - -	10 0 0
Leaves - - -	£.21 10 0

N. B. 5*l.* 8*s.* (the French duties) is rather less than 18 *per cent.* on the value, and 10*l.* the imposts and duties paid by the British planters, is 31¾ *per cent.*

From the preceding calculation it appears, that out of 100*l.* value of the French planter's sugar, there is left him, after payment of duties to his government abroad and at home, 82*l.*—But to the British planter, out of his sugar, no more than 68*l.* 5*s.*—and although the gross apparent value of the British planter's hogshead of sugar is higher than that of the French planter's by 1*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* yet he receives, after paying the taxes upon it, less than the other by 3*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*—This superior advantage enables the French planters to pay a higher price for negroes, and to carry on their plantations at a greater expence than the English—circumstances which probably make the scale between the planters of the two nations nearly even.

with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thousand other things, came from France. Portugal supplied us with sugar. All the products of America were poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoese retailed to us the commodities of the East Indies, *at their own price.*" The same account is confirmed by Sir Josiah Child. "Portuguese sugar (says this author), before we had plantations of our own, sold for seven and eight pounds sterling the quintal or cwt.;" and it is a remarkable and well known circumstance, that after the cultivation of indigo in Jamaica was suppressed by an exorbitant duty of near 20*l.* the hundredweight, Great Britain was compelled to pay to her rivals and enemies 200,000*l.* annually for this commodity, so essential to a great variety of her most important manufactures. At length, the duty being repealed, and a bounty, some time after, substituted in its place, the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina entered upon, and succeeding in the culture of this valuable plant, supplied, at a far cheaper rate than the French and Spaniards (receiving too our manufactures in payment) not only the British consumption, but also enabled Great Britain to export a surplus at an advanced price to foreign markets.

If these writers then were well informed, and

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the commercial world has thought highly of their industry and knowledge, it would be difficult to prove (though it is easily said, and as easily denied) that the settlement of the British sugar plantations was unwise or improvident; nor will it be found very easy to point out any other channel in which the money which has been expended in their improvement, could have been applied to greater national benefit. Against advantages of such magnitude and permanence as I have shewn to result from those colonies, and the various branches of our commerce dependent thereon, neither the loss to individuals in the plantations, by improvident schemes in the outset, or improper conduct in their subsequent pursuits, nor the temporary inconvenience which is sometimes sustained by the purchasers and consumers at home, from an occasional advance of price in some few of the colonial products, outweighs in the scale of reason a feather!

I shall now proceed to consider those other positions and doctrines which have been advanced concerning the duties that are paid, and the drawbacks that are granted on the products of the British sugar islands, and shall afterwards treat somewhat largely of the monopoly compact, or the privilege which the planters of those islands possess, of supplying exclusively the British consumption of sugar, and other arti-

cles. The subject is naturally dry, and not susceptible of ornament; but its importance will not be disputed, and perhaps there are but few commercial regulations whose principles are less understood than those of the compact last mentioned.

The points to be considered are briefly comprised in the following objections:—It is asserted,

First, That the duties which are levied on the products of the British West Indies imported into Great Britain, though paid in the first instance by the proprietor, or importer, ultimately fall on the consumer, and on him alone*.

* The following are correct tables of the duties payable at this time (1792) on the principal articles of West Indian produce, both in Great Britain and the United States of America:

DUTIES *payable upon* IMPORTATION *into* GREAT BRITAIN of the Produce of the *British West Indies, agreeable to the Consolidated Act, most of which are drawn back upon Exportation.*

	£.	s.	d.
Refined sugar, cwt.	4	18	8
Musc. sugar - -	0	15	0
Rum, *per* gallon, customs 5*d.* excise 4*s.* 3*d.* - -	0	4	8
Pimento, *per* lb.	0	0	3

	£.	s.	d.
Indigo, mahogany, Nicaragua wood, logwood, lignum-vitæ, and fustic, *free.*			
* Coffee, *per* cwt.	0	3	6

* *If the Coffee is for home consumption, it pays a further duty of* 3*l.* 15*s. per cwt. to the customs, and* 6½*d. per lb. to the excise.—Cocoa also, if for home consumption, pays* 12*s.* 6*d. per cwt.—excise* 6½*d. per lb.*

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Secondly, That the practice of allowing drawbacks on their re-export, is dangerous and destructive.

	£.	s.	d.
Cocoa, *per* cwt.	0	1	3
Ginger, black or white, *per* cwt.	0	11	0
Cotton, from any place in British bottom, *free*.			

	£.	s.	d.
Gum Guaiacum,	0	0	9
Jalap	0	0	9
Aloes, *per* cwt.	6	10	8
Sarsaparilla, *per* lb.	0	0	8
Tamarinds, red, cwt.	1	0	6

Impost of the UNITED STATES upon WEST INDIA PRODUCE.

	Cents.
Distilled spirits, if more than ten *per cent.* below proof, *per* gallon	20
If more than five, and not more than ten, *per cent.* below	21
If of proof, and not more than five *per cent.* below	22
If above proof, but not exceeding twenty *per cent.*	25
If of more than twenty, and not more than forty *per cent.*, above proof	30
If of more than forty *per cent.* above proof	40
Brown sugar	30½
Melasses	3
Coffee, *per* pound	4
Cocoa	1
Pimento	4
Indigo	25
Cotton	3
Tonnage on foreign vessels, *per* ton	50

N. B. *One hundred Cents is equal to a Spanish Dollar.*

Not less than 50 gallons to be imported into the United States.

*** An addition of ten *per centum* to be made to the several rates of duties before specified and imposed, excepting rum, which shall be imported in ships or vessels not of the United States.

☞ Brown or Muscavado sugar, *not* of the British plantations, is subject, on its importation into Great Britain, to a

Thirdly, That the monopoly of supply vested in the planters is partial, oppressive, and unjust.

I shall consider these several positions in the order in which I have placed them. The investigation of them is necessary to the completion of my work, and, with a few general observations, will conclude my labours.

If daily experience did not evince that argument has very little effect on the avarice of government, and the selfish prejudices of individuals, it might be a matter of wonder that the first of these positions (in the full extent to which it is carried) should ever be seriously repeated, after the clear and unanswerable refutation which has been given to it, both in parliament and from the press, a thousand times; and what is more, by sad experience in a thousand instances! So long, however, as it continues to be the language of prejudiced or interested men, it is the duty of the planters to give it attention: and although they may have nothing new to offer on a question which has been so frequently and fully investigated, they

duty of 1*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* and white or clayed sugar of foreign growth to 2*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* the cwt; East Indian sugar being ranked among the company's imports as manufactured goods, pays 47*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* *per cent. ad valorem.* It is all white or clayed sugar.

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have no reason on that account to be silent; inasmuch as the doctrine itself has not unfortunately the grace of novelty to recommend it.

The planters then have affirmed, and they repeat, that there is not an axiom in mathematics more incontestable than this maxim in commerce, *that the value of all commodities at market depends entirely on their plenty or scarcity in proportion to the demand or consumption.*—If the quantity at market is not equal to the demand, the seller undoubtedly can, and always does, fix his own price on his goods. On the other hand, when the quantity at market greatly exceeds the event or demand, then it is out of the seller's power to influence the price, for the plenty will necessarily keep it down in spite of his utmost endeavours to raise it.

The truth therefore undoubtedly is, that in the latter case the original cost of the goods, and all subsequent charges thereon, such as freight, warehouse rent, duties and taxes of all kinds, are objects of no concern to the buyer. The quantity, and the quantity alone, regulates the price at market, and augments or diminishes the profits of the seller. If the demand be great, and the quantity small, the seller has sometimes an opportunity not only of reimbursing himself the original cost, and all subsequent

charges and duties, but likewise of making great profit besides. Reverse the circumstances, and he finds himself a considerable loser. All this is the necessary and unavoidable nature of commercial adventure, which is only prosperous as it contrives *to feed the market* properly; or, in other words, to make the supply no more than adequate to the demand. Thus the taxes on leather, soap, candles, malt, beer, and spirits, by enhancing the price to, may be said to fall on, the consumers; for as the manufacturers have it in their power, so they proportion the supply to the demand, and bring to market no more than sufficient to answer the consumption, and if, after all, they cannot obtain a living profit, they cease to deal in those commodities.

It is the same in regard to tea, wines, and other commodities, the growth or manufacture of foreign nations, *over whose exports we have no controul.* The merchant importer governs his imports by the demand which he computes there will be at the British market for the commodity; and ceases to import such goods as he finds will not yield him a profit, after the duty and all other charges are reimbursed.

But, in the case of articles which the situation and necessities of the owner bring to sale, and for which no other vent can be found, it is impossible that any duties or taxes which the commodity may have paid in its way to market,

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can have any effect on the price; for the price arises from the demand, and the demand from the buyer's wants, which it would be absurd to say the laying any duty can create, or the not laying it diminish.—Thus, when wheat is scarce, the price rises; and two or three good harvests make it cheap again, without any reference to the land-tax whether it be 3*s*. or 4*s*. and without any regard to the farmer's expenses. Nor will corn afterwards bear a good price, until the stock is lessened by exportation, or otherwise, to such a quantity as is barely sufficient for home consumption. Hops, hay, cider, and a thousand other commodities, are subject to the same rule.

Such too is precisely the situation of the West Indian planters: they are compelled to send their goods to market, or starve; and (with a few unprofitable exceptions) there is no market to which they are permitted to resort but that of Great Britain. Their produce therefore, when brought to sale, can obtain no other than its natural price, I mean that price which a greater or less supply necessarily and naturally creates. The consumers of sugar neither care for, nor inquire after, its original cost, or the duties and charges which it has paid in its way to market. The importer however must pay the duties before he can bring his sugar to sale, for no man will buy unless the duty is first

cleared; and whether the importer can compel the buyer to refund the whole, or any part of it, by adding it to the price of the commodity, depends altogether, as I have observed, on the quantity at market; it being an absolute contradiction to affirm that great plenty and a high price on the one hand, or on the other, great scarcity and a low price, can exist at one and the same time. That sugar, like other commodities, is sometimes brought up in Great Britain by engrossers on speculation, may be very possible; but this is a traffic in which as neither the planters in the West Indies, nor their factors at home, have any concern, so neither are they answerable for any consequences arising from it.

It is true that, when providential calamities have overtaken the West Indies, the evil has sometimes been remotely felt by the inhabitants of Great Britain. When it pleased the Almighty to lay waste the sugar islands by a succession of tremendous hurricanes, it was reasonable to expect that the reduced state of their exports, would enhance their value in Europe. It might then perhaps be said that the consumer of sugar reimbursed in some degree the charges and expences of its culture and transportation, and the duties which had been levied upon it. It was the natural and only relief (inadequate at the best) which the sugar

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planters could receive; but if, from some occasional increase of price on such emergencies, they are made subject to permanent burthens, founded on the vain and fallacious idea that, because the consumer has replaced them once, he will replace them again; the devastations of the elements are only the lesser evil.

Admitting however that the consumer really does, in a great many cases, pay the duty, or, in other words, that the vender has it very frequently in his power to force his own price; who does not see, as an inevitable consequence, that a decrease in the consumption will soon bring the price back to its level? The products of the West Indies are rather among the luxuries than the necessaries of life, and the great consumption of sugar especially, is with the middle and lower classes of people, who can, and undoubtedly will, lay it aside when reasons of frugality require it. If any one doubts that this will be the effect, let him only enquire of any country grocer as to the fact, at a time when Muscavado sugar, in consequence of the calamities that have been stated, and from captures in war, rose suddenly one fourth in value; he will find that the diminution in the consumption in many parts of the kingdom, was in a much greater relative proportion;—a more fatal symptom cannot attend any branch of commerce.

If the arguments which have thus been stated are not sufficient in themselves to justify the remonstrances which the planters of the West Indies have thought it incumbent on them, from time to time, to urge against the increase of duties, there are facts to be adduced, which must convince the most selfish and incredulous.

The instance of indigo has been mentioned already; and it cannot be repeated too often. The planters complained of the duties on that article, as they have since complained of those on sugar, and they were told then, as they are constantly told in other cases, that the duties fell ultimately on the consumer. Government however at length, by abrogating all the duties, saw and acknowledged its error; but the remedy was applied too late; for if the duties had either been taken off in time, or if the weight of them had fallen on the consumer, instead of the planter, the cultivation of indigo, beyond all dispute, had never been wrested out of our hands.

Cacao, or chocolate, furnishes another instance of the fatal effects of high duties on importation. Strange as it may seem that an article which our colonies can raise in the greatest plenty and perfection, should be subject to a higher proportionate duty than the foreign commodity *tea* (the place of which chocolate or

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coffee might have supplied;) such however was the case even when the duties on tea were nearly double what they are at present! The consequence was, that whether the duties on cacao fell on the consumer or the planter, the effect on the latter was precisely the same; for if through want of a living profit, the planter could not afford to continue the cultivation: or if, in exacting a living profit, he lost his customers, because they could no longer afford to purchase, his situation became equally distressing; until necessity compelled him to change his system, and apply his land and labour to other objects. Thus the growth of cacao which once constituted the pride of Jamaica, and its principal export, became checked and suppressed beyond the power of recovery. I think I have elsewhere observed, that there is not at this day a single cacao plantation, of any extent, from one end of the island to the other.

The cultivation of ginger succeeded that of cacao, and met with a similar fate; but perhaps the instance of coffee will come more immediately home to the imagination of ministers, because the proof which it affords arises not from what has been *lost* by impolitic taxation, but from what has been *gained* by a prudent reduction of existing duties. In the one case, the lesson it affords is too mortifying to be acceptable; the other they will receive as

a compliment to their wisdom. Having however stated the circumstance in a former part of this work,* it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it here. CHAP. V.

From the whole of what has been observed on the question of duties, this conclusion appears to me to be incontrovertible; that in nine cases out of ten, the duties which are paid on the products of the British plantations, fall chiefly (either immediately or eventually) on the colonist in the West Indies, who is commonly the importer, and not on the consumer in Great Britain;—and it is equally certain that, in the tenth case, when the consumer pays them, *he ought to pay them;* inasmuch as all taxes should in justice press with equal weight on every member of the community, in proportion to his ability to sustain them; of which, in the case of taxable commodities, consumption is the criterion. To this consideration must be added the well-known and established axiom, that taxes paid by the public at large distribute themselves so equally on the whole as eventually to raise the price of all other commodities; each man repaying himself for taxes which he pays on other articles, by advancing the price of his own. Let the planters then no longer be contemptuously told (for such has been the language of their adversaries) that

* Book v. c. iv. p. 549.

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they have *groaned without a grievance.* I have shown that they have been driven, from time to time, by duties accumulated on duties, from the cultivation of one production to another; and if, (apprehensive that the few valuable staple commodities which now remain to them are in danger of being sacrificed, as others have been, to a system of impolitic taxation) they state their apprehensions to ministers, by a recital of plain facts, and a perseverance in well-grounded complaints, it seems to me they are equally serving government, and defending their own rights and properties.—Supplies must necessarily be raised; they admit it; but contend that there is a point at which taxation on any particular object must stop, or it will not only defeat its own purpose, but have the effect also of endangering all former duties laid on the same object, by totally destroying its cultivation or manufacture. The subject now naturally leads me to the consideration of drawbacks and bounties, on the re-export of British plantation products, the second head of our present enquiries; and as the principal of those products is sugar, I shall confine my remarks to that article.

The term Drawback, in the language of the Custom-house, is applied to the tax repaid upon the exportation of *raw* sugar, and the word Bounty, to the money which is paid upon the exportation of what is *refined*, and exported

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in loaf unbroken. The word drawback sufficiently expresses its meaning; for (excepting the gain to government by interest, in consequence of having had a deposit of the tax for some time in its hands, and excepting the duty retained on the quantity wasted while the sugar continued in a British port,) the original duty paid at importation is refunded on exportation, without diminution or addition. This at present, (including the last duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* laid in 1791, and declared to be temporary) is 15*s.* the hundredweight. But *as* to the *bounty*, the case was *once* different. To encourage the refining trade in Great Britain, government give an actual premium on the export of refined sugar in loaves, in addition to the drawback, and the collective sums so refunded and paid, amounting together to 26*s.* the hundredweight, obtained generally the name of bounty; a name which it still retained, although in fact, since the last duty was laid, the extra sum which is paid beyond the drawback, is but little, if any thing, more than a compensation for the duty which is paid on the *extra* quantity of raw sugar expended in producing a given quantity of refined, and lost by pilferage and waste, between the importation and day of sale, as will presently be demonstrated.*

* The statute book denominates that species of refined sugar upon which what is called *the bounty* is granted,

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Having thus explained what is meant by the terms drawback and bounty, in the case of sugar

"*sugar in the loaf and whole, being nett.*" Upon the export of this sort of sugar the bounty was raised by the 5th George III. c. 45. to 14*s.* 6*d.* and a further bounty of 11*s.* 6*d.* was granted by the 21 George III. c. 16. making together 26*s. per* cwt. and so it continues at present. The last bounty of 11*s.* 6*d.* was granted in consequence of an additional duty of 6*s. per* cwt. laid in 1781, on raw sugar imported, when Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, who frankly declared that he proposed the aforesaid bounty purposely to remunerate the planters from the import duty, which he admitted they were unable to bear. It is evident however, that the duty is permanent and certain; the relief, temporary and casual; inasmuch as the export of refined sugar is altogether occasional, depending on the fluctuating state of foreign markets. Should the foreign demand fail, on whom will this additional duty fall but on the planter? This consideration alone is a good reason why the bounty should be more than proportionate to the drawback. Yet when parliament, in 1791, by the 31 George III. c. 15. laid a further duty of 2*s.* 8*d. per* cwt. on raw sugar imported from the British plantations (appropriating the same, for a term of four years, towards the discharge of certain exchequer bills) making the import duty 15*s. per* cwt. in the whole, no addition was made to the bounty, on the export of refined loaf. All that could be obtained was an addition of 3*s.* 4*d.* to the drawback, on what the statute calls *bastards, and ground or powdered sugar*; and also on *refined loaf broke into pieces*, and all sugar called *candy*. Upon the export of these species of sugar, the drawback previous to the 31 George III. stood at 11*s.* 8*d.* only, while the duty paid on raw sugar imported was 12*s.* 4*d.* and it being but just that the drawback should at least be equal to the duty paid, 3*s.* 4*d.* was ad-

exported, I shall now endeavour to prove that the repayment of the duties, under either appellation, is not a matter of favour to the colonist or importer, but of rigorous justice, and is founded on a strict and conscientious right which he possesses, and of which he cannot be deprived, so long as a sense of moral duty, and a regard to equal justice, shall be found among the principles of a free government.

An importer of merchandise either comes *voluntarily* into our ports, to seek the best market for the sale of his goods; or is *com-*

ded in that act; which, with 11*s.* 8*d.* makes 15*s.* *per* cwt. the precise amount of the import duties paid since that act took place. The minister who moved the additional duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* in 1791, proposed also at first to augment the bounty in the usual proportion; but the sugar refiners remonstrated against the measure, as being, they said, *beneficial only to the planters.* It is remarkable, however, that in the memorial which they presented on that occasion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they furnish an unanswerable argument in support of an actual *bonus* on the export from Great Britain of refined sugar; for they admit that a greater portion of the refined article is now made from muscavado than was formerly produced, *owing*, they say, *to improvements made by the planters in the raw commodity.* As those improvements were not effected but after many costly, and some fruitless, experiments, it seems no way consonant either to justice or reason that the refiners alone should reap the advantages of them, and the planters who sustained the risk, sit down quietly under the expense.

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pelled to enter them, that the nation may secure to itself the pre-emption at its own market. If he comes voluntarily, he is apprized of the regulations and duties to which, by the laws of the port, he will be subject; he makes his option, and if he meets with disappointment, has no right to complain; much less to expect a return of the duties which he has paid on importation, in case he shall afterwards find it more to his advantage to re-ship his goods and try another market. He comes in the spirit of adventure, and as his profits, however great, are wholly his own, if his adventure proves fortunate; so it is but reasonable that he should submit patiently to his loss, if loss is the consequence of his experiment. This conclusion is, I think, too evident to require farther illustration.

On the other hand, the case of those who are *compelled* to bring their goods to our ports is widely different. The sugar planter, for instance, is not only obliged to bring his sugar at all times and seasons to a market which perhaps is already overloaded; but to bring it too in British ships, that the mother-country may have the benefit arising from the freight. On the supposition that the whole may be sold for home consumption, he is furthermore compelled to pay down the duties on the full quantity im-

ported before he is permitted to sell any part. The home consumption is then supplied; and a surplus remains, for which a vent offers in a foreign market. The foreign purchaser, however, buys nothing for which the people of Great Britain choose to pay an equal price; they have the first offer, and refusal of the whole. Under what pretence then can the British government, whose language it is that all the duties are, and ought to be ultimately paid by the consumer, retain the duties on such part of the goods as are not purchased for the home supply? The mother-country has already received the benefit of the freight; has had a preference in the sale of the goods, and obtained other mercantile advantages from its importation; and the owner has suffered the inconveniency of advancing a large sum of money for duties on goods which she refuses to purchase,—an inconveniency of no small account, inasmuch as, besides the loss of interest, should the goods perish by fire he would lose both his goods and the duty;*—perhaps, as an interested man, I am not com-

* Since this work was first published, the author has had reason to speak *feelingly* on this point. In the month of December 1793, no less than 1,600 hogsheads of sugar, lying in the London warehouses, were consumed by fire, on which there had been paid in duties to government upwards of 17,000*l*; all this was a loss to the unfortunate owners, exclusive of the goods. The author's share of this loss was 1,200*l*.

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petent to decide impartially on this question; but *to me*, it appears that a final retention of the duties here spoken of, would be an outrageous exercise of power, without a shadow of right; a proceeding in the highest degree unjust, fraudulent, and oppressive.

As the foreign market will not bear the addition of the English duty, fifteen shillings *per* cwt. if the money is not refunded, are taken from the colonist, for having against his will and at a great expense of freightage, sent his sugar circuitously through Great Britain. Such an extortion for passing through a market to which he does not voluntarily resort, is virtually fixing a forced price upon the commodity; and to do this, or by force to take the commodity from him, without giving any price for it,—what is it but an act of the same nature, differing only in degrees of violence?—The plea of necessity is not applicable to the case: the object not being, as in the case of corn, a *necessary* but a *luxury* of life; and the colonists, to whom it belongs, have no share in the power of regulating, if regulations are to be made concerning it.

If it be urged that foreigners have otherwise the advantage of sometimes buying British plantation sugar on cheaper terms than the people of Great Britain, it is answered that this is a circumstance for which the planter is no way

responsible, and in truth it is in itself but little to be regarded; since whenever it happens, the national gain is so much the greater; because the kingdom profits much more by the quantity purchased, and paid for in money by foreigners, than it would have done, if the same quantity had been consumed at home.—Government has no means in this case of taxing the consumption of foreign nations, for if the duty be added to the price of the commodity, the foreign demand is at an end *.

* Since the foregoing was written an act of the British legislature has passed, intituled, "An Act for regulating the "allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty "on the exportation of sugar, and for permitting the impor- "tation of sugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda "islands in foreign ships." Concerning the latter part of the act, as the foreign sugar and coffee are not to be consumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouses until re-exported, the planters of the British West Indies have no right to object to its provisions; but with regard to the regulations of the drawback, &c. the case is widely different. By this law it is enacted that "after the year 1792, whenever the average of the prices of brown or muscavado sugar (to be taken weekly upon oath before the Lord Mayor of London, and published in the Gazette) shall exceed, in the six weeks which respectively precede the middle of February, June and October, the amount of fifty shillings *per* cwt. (exclusive of the duty) the drawback on *raw* sugar exported is immediately to cease for four months, and the bounty on *refined* is to cease during a like term, but commencing after an interval of one month." Such is the

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Hitherto, I have spoken of the drawback on *raw* sugar only. I am now to shew that my observations apply equally to that which is *refined;* by proving that what is called the *bounty*, is but little more than merely a modification of the drawback; the money allowed beyond the original duty being an allowance not more than adequate to the loss of weight in the raw commodity for which the full duties have been paid by the importer, and the loss of interest thereon, between the time of the payment thereof, and the time of the receipt of the bounty.

The proportions of refined sugar, &c. procured by melting 112 lbs. of raw sugar, have

outline of this act, on which what I have already said in the text is perhaps a sufficient comment; yet it may not be improper to take some notice of the great argument which was urged in support of the measure in the House of Commons; namely, that it was formed on the model of the corn trade system. But the corn trade laws, though designed to reduce prices, are also contrived *to encourage production.* They therefore check exportation when the prices are high, *and give a bounty on exportation when the prices are low.* If the sugar bill had been formed on the same principle, and had been meant to keep the price of the commodity at a fair medium between the public and the planter, it would have reduced the bounty when above the standard, and either raised the bounty, or taken off the home duty when below it, in such proportion as to keep the balance even. In its present shape the act operates wholly against the planters.

been ascertained by the committee of London refiners as follows, viz. CHAP. V.

	lbs.
Refined sugar in loaves and lumps -	$56\frac{5}{7\,0}$
Bastard or ground sugar - -	$22\frac{5}{7\,0}$
Melasses or treacle - - -	$28\frac{1}{2\,0}$
Scum and dirt - - - -	$4\frac{1}{2\,0}$
	112 lbs.

The bounty and drawback therefore, according to this calculation, will stand as follows, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
On loaf sugar - lbs. $56\frac{5}{7\,0}$ - at 26s. -	0	13	$0\frac{4}{7}$
bastards - $22\frac{5}{7\,0}$ - at 15s. -	0	2	$11\frac{3}{7}$
	0	16	0
Duty paid - - - -	0	15	0
Difference -	0	1	0

So that the *apparent* loss to the revenue arising from the bounty is one shilling the cwt. and no more. But as every hogshead of sugar loses considerably in weight, after the duty is paid, and before it is either exported or worked up, and as by the present strict regulations respecting tare, the duty is frequently paid for more sugar than the casks really contain, it is but a moderate cal-

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culation to say that every hogshead (taking good sugars and bad together) loses 56 lbs. which at 15*s. per* cwt. the import duty, makes 7*s.* 6*d. per* hogshead loss to the planter, and a clear and certain gain to the revenue, let the sugar be disposed of as it may. Thus therefore is government reimbursed for a considerable part of what it appears to lose by the bounty, and the interest which it gains by a deposit of the whole duties on importation, makes up the remainder. The average annual import of raw sugar is about 160,000 hogsheads of 12 cwt. nett: now supposing every ounce of this was to be exported, and receive the drawback at 15*s. per* cwt. yet from the difference of weight alone in the same sugar, occasioned by an unavoidable waste, government would have received in duties, from this single article, between 50 and 60,000*l. per annum* more than it refunds in drawbacks and bounties on the same commodity.

The above is a plain statement of facts concerning the drawbacks and bounties allowed by government on the export of sugar from Great Britain.—Of the system at large, or general practice of allowing the duties on the home consumption, to be drawn back on the export of goods to foreign markets, enough has been said by other writers.—If it be true, as it is generally allowed to be, that Great Britain by this means

establishes between her plantations and foreign countries, an advantageous carrying trade, the profits of which centre in herself, she has no just reason to repine at the encouragement which is thus given to foreigners to resort to her markets. It is paying money with one hand, to receive it back, in a different shape perhaps, but in more than a tenfold proportion, with the other; and no considerate statesman will easily be persuaded to think such a system improvident and prejudicial.*

* Thus, in a tract by William Penn, entitled "The Benefit of Plantations or Colonies," that celebrated legislator expresses himself in the following terms:

"I deny the vulgar opinion against plantations, that they "weaken England; they have manifestly enriched, and so "strengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus: First, "those that go into a foreign plantation, their industry "there is worth more than if they stayed at home, the pro- "duct of their labour being in commodities of a superior "nature to those of this country: for instance, what is an "improved acre in Jamaica or Barbadoes worth to an im- "proved acre in England? We know it is three times the "value, and the product of it comes to England, and is "usually paid for in English growth and manufacture. "Nay, Virginia shews, that an ordinary industry in one "man produces three thousand pounds weight of tobacco, "and twenty barrels of corn, yearly: he feeds himself, and "brings as much of the commodity into England besides, "as being returned in the growth and workmanship of "this country, is much more than he could have spent "here: Let it also be remembered, that the three thou- "sand weight of tobacco brings in two thousand two-

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I am now brought to the third ground of objection; comprehending a subject of wider extent and more important consideration, than

"pences by way of custom to the king, which makes "twenty-five pounds; an extraordinary profit. Secondly, "*more being produced and imported than we can spend here,* "*we export it to other countries in Europe, which brings in* "*money, or the growth of those countries, which is the same* "*thing; and this is the advantage of the English merchants* "*and seamen.*"

To the same purport writes Doctor Charles Davenant, who, if I mistake not, held the very same employment of inspector of the exports and imports, which is now exercised with such superior ability by Mr. Irving. "By whatever the returns (meaning the returns from our own plantations) are worth (said Dr. Davenant) beyond the goods exported thither, *the nation is, by so much, a gainer.* There is a limited stock of our own product to carry out, beyond which there is no passing. As for example, there is such a quantity of woollen manufacture, lead, tin, &c. which, over and above our own consumption, we can export abroad; and there is likewise a limited quantity of these goods which foreign consumption will not exceed. Now, if our expenditure of foreign materials be above this, and more than our own product will fetch, for the overplus we should be forced to go to market with money, which would quickly drain us, if we did not help ourselves other ways, which are, *by exchanging our plantation goods for their materials,*" &c. In another place, Davenant states the imports from all the plantations at the Revolution at 950,000*l. per annum,* "whereof (saith he) 350,000*l.* being consumed at home, is about equal to our exports thither, *and the remainder, viz.* 600,000*l. being re-exported, is the national gain by that trade.*"

To the foregoing authorities might likewise be added those of the honest and intelligent Joshua Gee, and the learned and accurate Doctor John Campbell; but, perhaps to a common

either of those which I have discussed in this chapter; and on which prejudice, self-interest, ignorance, and misinformation, have jointly contributed to throw a veil of obscurity; I mean the privilege which is vested in the planters of the British West Indies, of supplying the British market with their chief staple commodities, in exclusion of foreigners; the high duties on foreign sugars, and some other products of the West Indies, operating (as they were meant to do) so as to prohibit their importation.

The leading principle of colonization in all the maritime states of Europe, Great Britain among the rest, was, as I have elsewhere observed, *commercial monopoly*.—The word monopoly, in this case, admitted a very extensive interpretation. It comprehended the monopoly

understanding, the conclusion is too clear and self-evident to require illustration or authority; namely, *that the export from Great Britain to foreign markets of her colonial products, is just as beneficial to the British trade as the export of corn, or any other production of the mother-country, and equally increases the balance of trade in her favour.* I shall therefore only observe further, that the export of sugar alone from this kingdom for the supply of the foreign European markets during the years 1790 and 1791, was 277,656 cwt. of raw, and 278,391 cwt. of refined, which, at the rate of 45*s. per* cwt. for the raw, and of 90*s. per* cwt. for the refined, added 1,600,000*l.* sterling to the balance of trade in favour of the mother-country, and enable her to pay more than one-half the sum which is annually drawn out of the kingdom for the interest or dividends of money lodged by foreigners in the British funds.

of supply, the monopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of manufacture. By the first, the colonists were prohibited from resorting to foreign markets for the supply of their wants; by the second, they were compelled to bring their chief staple commodities to the mother-country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured state, that her own manufacturers might secure to themselves all the advantages arising from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried so far in the colonial system of Great Britain, as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare in parliament, *that the British colonists in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe.*

As a compensation for these restrictions and prohibitions on the colonies of Great Britain, to favour the navigation, revenues, manufactures, and inhabitants of the mother-country, the colonists became possessed of certain commercial advantages; among others, of the privilege before-mentioned—the subject of our present discussion—that of an exclusive access to the British market for the sale of their produce. Thus the benefits were reciprocal; and each country, Great Britain and her colonies, became a permanent staple, or mart, for the products and trade of the other.

Such was the arrangement, or double monopoly, which, with a few exceptions, Great Bri-

tain, in the plenitude of her imperial capacity, thought fit to establish. It was the basis of her commercial intercourse with her trans-Atlantic plantations, and she terms it herself a system of "correspondence and kindness."* Whether it was an arrangement founded in wisdom and sound policy, it is now too late to inquire. It has existed, it has been confirmed, it has been admired, it has been imitated; and the colonists have embarked their fortunes upon the faith of it. All therefore that remains, is to point out the value and importance of the colonial contribution. It is presumed that nothing more than this is necessary to demonstrate that, if there is any security in the national faith, solemnly pledged and repeatedly ratified, the system is become a fixed and permanent *compact;* which cannot now be violated by either party, without the fullest compensation to the other, but on principles, which, if admitted, may serve to justify a departure from the ordinary rules of justice on any occasion.

First then, as to the monopoly exercised by Great Britain of supplying their wants:—The colonists are prohibited from purchasing of foreigners, not only those srticles which Great Britain can supply from her own resources, but also many which she is herself obliged to

* Preamble to the 15 C. II. Ch. 7.

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purchase from foreigners. Thus a double voyage is rendered necessary, that Great Britain may benefit by the freightage; the expense of which, and all other profits, being added to the cost of the goods, the extra price which the colonists pay is clearly so much profit to her, and loss to them. The commodities which the British colonies in the West Indies might purchase on cheaper terms than at the British market, are various. East Indian goods, including tea, might at all times have been obtained from Holland, and of late may be bought very reasonably in America.* Germany would supply the coarser linens, an article of vast consumption in negro clothing, and France would furnish soap and candles, silk manufactures of all kinds, cambrics, wines, and a thousand other articles of less importance. From the United States of America also might be obtained bar and pig iron, salted beef and pork, salted and pickled fish, train and spermaceti oil, and some few manufactures, as beaver hats, and spermaceti candles, &c.†

* The tea imported by the Americaus in 1791, directly from China, was 2,601,852 lbs.—Prices in Philadelphia 33 *per cent.* lower than in London, the drawback deducted.

† The export of salted beef and pork from the United States of America in 1791 was 66,000 barrels. The medium price of the pork was 37*s.* sterling the barrel; of the beef 28*s.*

All these are articles of vast consumption, and are now supplied exclusively by Great Britain and her dependencies to an immense amount, and in British vessels only; and so rigidly have the laws of navigation been enforced by the mother-country, that not only the convenience and necessities of the colonies have given way to them, but a dreadful sacrifice has even been made to the system, of the lives of 15,000 of their miserable negroes, as the reader has elsewhere been informed!

On the same principle, to increase the shipping and naval power of the mother-country, the colonists are not permitted, even in time of war, to avail themselves of the cheapness and security of neutral bottoms, in sending their produce to the British market. By this second monopoly, Great Britain has secured to herself a preference of the whole world in the sale of their staple commodities, and is thus rendered independent of those nations from whom she was formerly supplied, (as the Portuguese for instance, who had the original monopoly of sugar) and over whose exports she has no controul. That this is an advantage of no small account, appears from the following circumstance recorded by the author of an *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations:* "About the beginning of the present century (says that writer) the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raise the price of their commo-

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dities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation, except in their own ships, at their own price, and in such quantities as they thought proper. It is surely unnecessary to observe, that no such selfish policy can at any time be displayed by the subordinate and dependent governments of the colonies."

But the circumstance that presses with the greatest weight on the British planters in the West Indies, is that branch of the monopoly, which, reserving for the manufacturers in Great Britain, all such improvements as the colonial produce is capable of receiving beyond its raw state, or first stage of manufacture, prohibits the colonists from refining their great staple commodity (sugar) for exportation. This is effected by the heavy duty of 4*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* *the cwt.* on all refined or loaf sugar imported, while raw or muscavado pays only 15*s.* The difference operates (as it was intended) as a complete prohibition. "To prohibit a great body of people (says the author before quoted)* from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind." To this violation however the West Indian planters have

* Wealth of Nations.

hitherto submitted without a murmur, considering it as one of the conditions of the compact, or reciprocal monopoly.

The great hardship on the planters in this case is, that the loss to them by the prohibition, is far more than proportionate to the gain acquired by Great Britain. As this circumstance is not fully understood, the subject not having, to my knowledge, been discussed in any of the publications that have treated of colonial commerce, I shall point out a few of the many advantages of which the planters are deprived by this restriction.

The first advantage would be an entire saving of the loss which is now sustained in the quantity of raw sugar, between the time of shipping in the West Indies, and the day of sale in Great Britain, arising chiefly from unavoidable waste at sea by drainage. To ascertain this loss with all possible exactness, I have compared in a great many instances, the invoice weights taken at the time of shipping, with the sale weights of the same goods in the merchants' books in London; and I will venture to fix the loss, on the average of good and bad sugar, at one-eighth part: in other words, a hogshead of sugar weighing nett 16 cwt. when shipped in Jamaica, shall, when sold in London, be found to weigh 14 cwt. only. The difference therefore is a dead loss both to the public and

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the planter. The former lose the use of two hundred pounds weight of sugar, and the latter is deprived of its value, which, at 40*s. per* cwt. may be stated at 3*l.* 6*s. per* hogshead, the merchant's charges deducted.

But this circumstance requires further illustration. The quantity of raw or muscavado sugar imported into Great Britain, on an average of four years, (1787 to 1790, both inclusive) was somewhat more than 140,000 hogsheads of 14 cwt. at the king's beam. The drainage at sea amounted therefore to 280,000 cwt. being in value 560,000*l.* sterling.—Such is the loss to the public: and let it be remembered, that this loss is not merely contingent or possible, but plain, positive, and certain; it being as undeniably true, that 280,000 cwt. or 14,000 ton of sugar was sunk into the sea, in the transportation of 140,000 hogsheads of the raw commodity, as that this number was imported into Great Britain; and it is equally certain, that every ounce of it would have been saved, if the planters had been permitted to refine the commodity in the colonies. The consequent loss to the revenue is easily calculated.

Concerning the planter, however, other circumstances are to be taken into the account; for in this case he has a right to reckon not only on what he positively lost in the first instance, but

also, on what he might probably have gained under a different system of regulations. I have stated his actual loss (the merchant's charges deducted) at 3*l.* 6*s.* *per* hogshead; but another and a very considerable loss, is the melasses, of which 112 lbs. of raw sugar yield in the London refinery 28¾ lbs.: I will say 28 lbs. only. On this proportion, a hogshead of raw sugar at the shipping weight (16 cwt.) would, if refined in the colonies, yield the planter 448 lbs. being equal to 64 gallons. This, valued at 9*d.* sterling *per* gallon, gives 2*l.* 8*s.* It will be said perhaps that the British refiner includes the value of the melasses produced in the refinery, in the estimate of his profits, and is thereby enabled to give a larger price for raw sugar to the planter, who thus receives payment for the article said to be lost. It must be remembered, however, that the sugar-planter in the British West Indies is his own distiller; and having the necessary buildings, stills, &c. already provided, would convert his melasses into rum, without any additional expense; and by this means add to its value somewhat more than one-third. This additional value therefore would be clear profit. Thus, allowing 64 gallons of melasses to produce only 40 gallons of rum of the Jamaica proof, these, at 1*s.* 10*d.* sterling the gallon, would yield 3*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*: from which the original melasses being deducted, there will

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remain 1*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* which may therefore be estimated as the loss now sustained by the planter in the article of melasses, on every hogshead of muscavado sugar shipped to Great Britain, exclusive of the loss in the raw material before stated.

To the foregoing might perhaps be added the saving of freight, on the difference between the weight of raw and refined sugar; but I will reckon nothing on this account, because I am of opinion that any given quantity of refined sugar made into loaves, though less in weight, will nevertheless occupy more space than the full quantity of raw sugar from which it is made. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that the price of freight would be advanced in proportion; a circumstance which ought to obviate all manner of objection to the system, from the owners of ships employed in its transportation.

But the great and decisive advantage that would accrue to the planter from refining his own sugar in the colonies, arises from the circumstance that his capital, or stock, is already provided to his hands; without which the savings that have been stated would avail him but little. I mean, not only that he possesses the raw material, but also, that the buildings and apparatus of all kinds which are requisite for the manufacture of muscavado sugar, are,

with a very small addition, all that are wanted for the business of refining.* The necessary additions on each plantation would consist chiefly of a drying-house, provided with stoves for baking the loaves, and an annual supply of earthen vessels or moulds in which the loaves are formed; with the further provision of negro labourers to be employed solely in the branch of the manufacture. The whole must be proportioned to the extent of the property. I have endeavoured to ascertain some rule for judging of this with as much precision as the subject will admit, and, without perplexing the reader with a variety of dry calculations, will observe generally, that an allowance of forty shillings sterling for each hogshead of muscavado sugar, I find to be abundantly liberal. This sum therefore I shall deduct from the difference of price at the British market between raw and refined sugar, which otherwise would be so much clear profit to the planter. The

* The planters of Jamaica frequently refine sugar for domestic use, and I have seen it done in as great perfection as in London. In St. Domingo a process has been discovered of refining muscavado with the juice of limes and lemons. A refiner from thence of the name of Millet came to Jamaica in 1790, and introduced this practice with great success. I saw myself refined sugar made by him at Hyde Hall plantation in Trelawny, with no other material than the juice of limes and Seville oranges, which for transparency and elegance surpassed the finest treble-refined produced by the London refiners.

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English refiner not having the same advantages, has to deduct the interest of a much larger proportionate capital and far greater expenses in conducting the manufacture. Now 112 lbs of raw sugar sold in London may be reckoned, when the prices are favourable, to yield the planter clear of all charges 1*l.* 13*s.* The same quantity refined, would yield of loaves and bastards to the value of 2*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* exclusive of the melasses. The difference is 8*s.* 5*d.* *per* hundredweight, or 5*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* the hogshead of 14 cwt. Deduct from this the extra expense of refining in the colony (40*s.* *per* hogshead), there remains 3*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* which being added to the former sums, it will be found that the whole loss sustained by the planter for the sake of the British refinery, is not less than 8*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* sterling on every hogshead of his sugar of 16 cwt. which he sends to the English market, amounting on 140,000 hogsheads to the prodigious sum of 1,184,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling money! Perhaps the circumstance may come more immediately home to the reader, by shewing how this loss affects an individual. For instance, the average returns of Mr. Beckford's plantations are, if I mistake not, about two thousand hogsheads of sugar annually. He sustains therefore a loss of 16,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*, that the

British refiners may get about one-third of the money! CHAP. V.

It is however to be remembered, that the preceding calculations are founded on the supposition that leave was granted to import refined sugar into Great Britain, from the British colonies, at the duties which are now paid on raw or muscavado. I am apprized that the revenue would, in that case, sustain a loss proportionate to the diminution in the quantity of sugar imported, unless it was (as undoubtedly it would be) made up by an adequate increase of the duties on the improved commodity. With every allowance however on this account (as well as for an increased rate of freight) the planter's profits would be sufficiently great; and, in truth, the refined sugar imported from the colonies, would afford to bear a much heavier duty than merely such a rateable contribution; so that the revenue would not be injured, but greatly improved, by its importation, while the public at large would obtain sugar in its best state much cheaper than they obtain it at present.*

* It is not my business to seek out resources for increasing the public revenue, but as a matter of couriosity, I beg leave to subjoin the following facts: The quantity of raw or muscavado sugar imported from the British plantations into Great Britain in the year 1787, was 1,926,121 cwt. and the gross duty paid thereon was 1,187,774*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* If

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Thus have I shewn the magnitude of the price at which the British colonists in the West Indies

this sugar had been kept to be refined in the plantations, it would have been one-eighth more in quantity; that proportion having been lost at sea by drainage. This would have made 2,166,886 cwt. which according to the computation of the London refiners, would have yielded 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf, and 425,638 cwt. of bastards (excluding fractions). Now supposing the duty on loaf sugar had been only 10*s. per* cwt. more than the present duty on muscavado (which it would have well afforded) and the bastard sugar to have continued at 15*s. per* cwt. the British revenue in that case would have received as follows: (both the public and the planter being at the same time benefited in a high degree) viz.

	£.	s.	d.
On 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf . at 25*s.* *per* cwt.	1,354,303	15	0
425,638 cwt. of bastards, at 15*s.* *per* cwt.	319,228	10	0
Duties which might have been levied	1,673,532	5	0
Duties actually paid in 1787 . .	1,187,774	12	8
Difference in favour of the revenue .	485,757	12	4

Such is the sacrifice which is made by the planters of the West Indies, and the public of Great Britain, in supporting the private interests of that useless intermediate body of people, the sugar refiners in England: who, whenever the casualties of war, or providential calamities, have overtaken the West Indies, and thereby created a temporary advance in the price of raw sugar, have been the first to raise a clamour against the monopoly of supply enjoyed by the planters, themselves at the same time possessing the monopoly which I have described! It may not be useless to add, that those people are, in a proportion unknown in any other branch of

have purchased, for a century past, the monopoly of the British market for their chief staple commodities. It is monopoly for monopoly; an arrangement not framed by the colonies, but by the mother-country herself, who has suffered it to grow sacred by time, has recognized it by a multitude of laws, and enforced it by stricter ties and recent provisions. Well, therefore, did

trade, *foreigners*; who live in the most frugal way in England (about one thousand in the whole) and retire with their savings to their own country. There are few operations more simple, or which require a less expensive apparatus, than that of refining sugar. Can it then be just or reasonable to sacrifice to a manufacture, thus subordinate in its nature and limited in its extent, the essential interests of 65,000 British subjects in the West Indies, and half a million of money, which is now annually lost to Great Britain, that this manufacture may be supported? It is remarkable that the same observation occurred to Davenant, who wrote soon after the revolution in 1688. Speaking of the impropriety of laying heavy duties on the produce of the British West Indies, he proceeds in these words: "And here it may not be improper to take notice particularly, of the high imposition laid upon refined sugars imported hither, upon a wrong notion of advancing our manufactures, whereas in truth it only turns to the account of about fifty families (for the refiners of England are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a bar to the industry of at least 14,000 persons, which are about the number of those who inhabit our islands producing sugar." *(Davenant, Discourse* 3, *on the Plantation Trade.)* What would this author have said, had he known the fact which I have stated above?

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a great statesman* observe, "that it was a compact more solemn than any that an act of parliament could create;" and when speculative men assert, and interested men complain, that a compact thus founded and supported is at this time not sufficiently favourable to Great Britain, the answer is obvious: If Great Britain regrets its operation and wishes to dissolve it, let her first make compensation to the colonists for all that they have undertaken, and the sacrifice they have made, under it; and next, when she releases herself from all future obligation to observe it, let the release be reciprocal; extending equally to one party and the other. This done, the colonists will have no cause to accuse her of injustice,—but this not done, they will assert that she has violated her faith with them; that her conduct is oppressive and fraudulent; and her statutes snares to the unwary.

In the mean time, it is impossible not to consider as exceedingly partial and unjust, those clamours and attempts by which, on any temporary advance in the prices of West Indian products, the public discontent is pointed towards the inhabitants of our sugar islands. They are partial, inasmuch as their authors consider the burthens and wants of the consumers

* Mr. Fox.

on one side, without adverting to the burthens and distresses of the colonists on the other. They are unjust, as their manifest aim is to extend to rivals and foreigners, whose trade is not subject to be controuled by British laws, those advantages which have been purchased by, and stand exclusively pledged to, the British West Indies, whose trade is still to be left bound by our regulations.—At this juncture indeed, now that the largeness of the exportation has demonstrated, that no foreign colonies in the West Indies can supply us with sugar cheaper than our own, another project, of more fatal and extensive mischief, is resorted to; and the national attention is awakened by the hopes of a vast and profitable sugar culture, under the fostering protection of government, in the boundless regions of the East Indies. Those plantations which have hitherto proved more than adequate to our wants; which from proximity and insular situation, are easily defended; which enrich our manufactures, encourage our fisheries, and return all their acquirements into the bosom of their alienated parent, are it seems to be neglected, and the national encouragement diverted to distant independent countries, whose inhabitants purchase but few of our commodities, and consume none of our fish, but take bullion instead of them; who rather send manufactures to our

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markets, than receive them from us; and whose exports may be checked and controuled by a thousand accidents which, at this distance, can neither be obviated nor foreseen. In short, by recommending the settlement of sugar plantations beyond the Cape of Good Hope, this project maintains that it is wise to remove encouragement from proximate and dependent colonies, to countries which, being placed beyond the reach of civil regulations from hence, can be governed only by the sword, and which, at no very remote period, may regain their independence;—when however it will be too late to resort back to our ruined and deserted colonies in the West Indies!

If the reader imagines that the intention of this scheme is to open a sugar trade with the East Indies to British subjects without distinction, it is necessary he should be informed that nothing is farther from the thoughts of its advocates and promoters. Their aim is to transfer the monopoly of the West Indies, to the monopolists of the East; being well apprized that a great importation of sugar, for few years, from India, would effectually stop the cultivation of this article in the British colonies, after which the market would be their own; and the supply, as in the case of all other articles of *foreign* growth, be increased or diminished, as the interest of the importer, not of the public, should regulate and direct.

For myself, I am unwilling to believe that the British government has at any time meditated intentional injury towards the sugar islands; and therefore cannot be persuaded that such a project will ever receive the sanction and support of administration. The planters however, judging of the future by the past, have abundant cause for anxiety and alarm; and if it were permitted to an uncourtly West Indian to expostulate, freely and explicitly, with the king's ministers on the treatment which those colonies have experienced from the mother-country, during the last twenty years, and on the danger to be dreaded from innovation, he might display a statement of facts, —unpleasant indeed to hear,—but extremely difficult to controvert or elude. Such a person might without any deviation from truth, present them with a detail not unlike the following:*

"It is well known (he might say) that the sufferings of those colonies which fell under the dominion of France were very great; and that at the conclusion of the war, such of the planters as survived the vexations of the enemy, and were not actually bankrupts in their fortunes, as a great many were reduced to embarrassments nearly approaching to it. For the

* See *The Case of the Sugar Colonies,* from whence this detail is copied almost verbatim.

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honour of the British name it ought to be recorded, that no sooner was an island taken from under the British protection, than the property of its inhabitants was treated, to all intents and purposes, as the property of natural-born enemies. Your vessels of war cruized upon them, and made prize of effects, wherever they were to be found. Even neutral flags afforded no protection against your depredations; until the highest authorities in the law had pronounced such conduct to be illegal; and parliament interfered to facilitate the passage of the products of Grenada, which having surrendered at discretion, were still exposed to capture. Even the hurricane, that most awful visitation of Providence, which usually arrests the vengeance of men, and by exciting softer affections, disposes them to acts of fraternity, lost its usual effect of procuring a passage even for the necessaries of life: and those whom the storm had spared, your rapacity would have starved.

"The war ceased, and with it the dominion of France over all the islands (Tobago excepted, which was ceded to her in perpetuity); but our miseries still survived; for the treaty of 1782 which gave peace and independence to North America, only transferred hostilities to the sugar colonies; as they have never ceased from that time to the present, to be harassed

with vexations of one kind or another. The first measure by which they were annoyed, arose in the policy of the state. It was thought necessary to dissolve their connection with the continent of North America. The consequence of which was, that Jamaica, being deprived of its produce of negro provisions by a series of tempests and unfavourable seasons, lost fifteen thousand of her slaves by famine. And yet you talk of humanity *as if it were a national virtue!*

"What since has been the disposition of Great Britain towards us, may be learnt from the popular conversation at this day; from the conduct of large bodies associated for the abolition of the slave-trade, and ultimately of slavery itself; from the establishments projected and in execution, on the coast of Africa, with views declaredly hostile to our interests; from the numbers of inflammatory paragraphs and calumnious pamphlets that daily issue from the press to prejudice the West Indian planters in the public opinion; from the indefatigable circulation of addresses, exhorting the people to the disuse of West Indian sugar; and lastly, from various proposals with respect to the reduction of the price of the commodity. In so many shapes does this spirit manifest itself, as to give just grounds to conclude, that something like a decided purpose is entertained for

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the total ruin of the sugar colonies, and that the vexations we have hitherto experienced, are only preliminaries to the system which is to be consummated by the grand measure of raising up rivals to our monopoly in your establishments in the East.

"It has been imputed as a reproach to the sugar colonies, that they are expensive, and that they engage you in war. Never were the West Indian colonies the cause of war; but whenever the two nations of France and England are engaged in any quarrel, from whatever cause it may arise, thither they repair to decide their differences. They are made the theatre of war; they are the victims, but never the origin of the contest. The inhabitants of the French and English islands live in an habitual intercourse of good offices, and would wish for eternal peace; and they have reason for it, for what are they to gain by war?

"When therefore we reflect upon the various means which have been employed to prejudice the West Indian planters, we find ourselves totally at a loss to conjecture what it is that could excite so much acrimony against us; as there exists none of those causes, which usually provoke the envy of men, and exasperate their malignity, The West Indians are not remarkable (with very few exceptions) either for their gigantic opulence, or an ostentatious

display of it. They do not emerge rapidly from poverty and insignificance into conspicuous notice. Such of them as possess fortunes of distinguished magnitude, as some gentlemen of Jamaica are happy enough to do, are not the creation of a day. Their names are to be found in the earliest records of the island, and their adventures were coeval with the first establishment of the colony, and of course their properties, such as we now find them, are the fruits of the toil of successive generations. Many there are indeed who have competences that enable them to live, with economy, in this country; but the great mass of planters are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their grasp, of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments. Such times as we have lately seen, if suffered to continue, might possibly have given effect to their exertions, and have lifted them out of their distresses. But it seems that poverty is considered as the legitimate heritage of every West Indian planter. They may encounter loss, and struggle with adversity; but never are they to profit of contingencies that may enable them to repair the disasters of adverse fortune, to which they are peculiarly subjected by their position.

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"If the minister means the ruin of the West Indian colonies, he may effect it by promoting the extensive cultivation of the sugar-cane in the East Indies, with a view to the supply of any part of the European market; and we have only equity to oppose to power, for we cannot repel injury. Murmurs would be unavailing, and our resentments impotent; but it would be a base desertion of interest, to suffer ourselves to be intimidated into a voluntary surrender of right. We protest therefore against any innovation, and adhere to the system of double monopoly: there we are at anchor; and if there is no security any where against the storms and afflictions of Providence, so neither is there against the injustice of men; but we shall at least have the consolation of not suffering the reproaches of our own bosoms, or of leaving accusers in our posterity!"

To such a remonstrance as the foregoing, respectfully but firmly delivered, it is difficult to say, what reply could be given. If, however, it is not the wish or intention of government to violate the national faith with the colonies, by depriving them of their monopoly, their apprehensions on that head may be easily removed. In this important business satisfaction being given, to the rest, if candour were to dictate an answer, although much must be admitted, much too might be said, and ho-

nestly said, to soften and conciliate. It may be urged that, however harsh and unkind the conduct of the mother-country has occasionally been thought, the colonies ought not to forget that they are indebted to her for all that they possess; their birth and origin, laws, government, religion and liberty; deriving from her parental solicitude and powerful protection, every circumstance that renders them prosperous in themselves, and enviable to others. If, during the fatal and destructive war which terminated in the dismemberment of the empire, they had their share—perhaps more than their share—of the general calamity, they will not forget that all of them that had suffered by capture (Tobago excepted) were restored by the peace to the blessings of a British constitution and government. Perhaps, since that time, a more liberal policy, a more generous freedom, might in some points have been wished and expected; but it should be remembered, that they enjoy and have long enjoyed, as a compensation for commercial restraint, the privilege of the British market, and the benefit of the British capital. They possess too, every characteristic mark of a free people in their internal concerns. They are taxed solely by their own representatives, and have not only the image, but the substance also, of an English constitution. This whole state of commercial servitude and

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civil liberty (as a great writer* hath well observed) taken together, though certainly not perfect freedom, yet comparing it with the ordinary circumstances of human nature, may be pronounced a happy and a liberal condition.

To the candid and ingenuous, I trust I need not offer any apology for thus having suggested considerations, which may tend to obviate misapprehensions, remove prejudices, and mitigate anger between those, who though divided by local situation, are allied to each other by the dearest ties of interest, affection, and consanguinity. I have thought this the more necessary, as it appears, by the bitterness and acrimony with which some men speak of the sugar colonies, that their aim is to instigate the national resentment, and heighten the public animosity towards them. Instead of manifesting a disposition, "fond to spread friendships and to cover heats," these gentlemen seem to me to exert their talents in misrepresentations, which can answer no other end than to set the remaining parts of the empire at variance with each other. I look not in this place to any of those fanatical writings on slavery and the slave-trade, which, equally disgraceful to humanity and letters, propagate the most daring and outrageous falsehoods without scruple or shame. I allude to authors of a very different

* Mr. Burke.

stamp: to persons who, having the means of better information, and possessing abilities to influence the public opinion, have suffered the prejudices of party to bias their judgment. As a man personally interested in the welfare of the sugar colonies, I have attempted, by displaying their importance and value, to point out the wisdom and necessity of lenient councils, and a liberal indulgence in the government of this kingdom towards them. In aiming however to encourage forbearance and kindness on the one side, I have, as a loyal and dutiful subject, endeavoured to conciliate affection, and promote filial obedience on the other. If the colonists reflect soberly, I am persuaded they will perceive that, in a contest with the mother-country, they have nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. Reflections of this kind, it is hoped, may dispose to mutual confidence and moderation; and tend equally to promote the welfare of the colonies, and the strength, prosperity, and glory of Great Britain.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME II.

CONTAINING

TABLES

OF

WEST INDIAN EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

TO AND FROM

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:

MADE UP FROM RETURNS TO

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN GREAT BRITAIN,

AND FROM

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS IN IRELAND.

TABLES.

No. 1.

An ACCOUNT of the Value of the WEST INDIA IMPORTS into GREAT BRITAIN, according to the Rates in the Inspector General's Office,*

FOR THE FOLLOWING YEARS; VIZ.

YEARS.	VALUE.	YEARS.	VALUE.
1698	L. 629,533	1723	L. 1,087,254
1699	586,255	1724	1,160,568
1700	824,246	1725	1,359,185
1701	738,601	1726	1,222,511
1702	476,168	1727	1,089,513
1703	626,488	1728	1,498,023
1704	489,906	1729	1,515,421
1705	706,574	1730	1,571,608
1706	537,744	1731	1,310,580
1707	604,889	1732	1,315,458
1708	592,750	1733	1,618,013
1709	645,689	1734	1,141,068
1710	780,505	1735	1,460,609
1711	556,198	1736	1,423,039
1712	648,190	1737	946,423
1713	762,248	1738	1,475,910
1714	843,890	1739	1,566,838
1715	999,412	1740	1,185,107
1716	1,104,188	1741	1,402,986
1717	1,204,057	1742	1,309,886
1718	896,031	1743	1,404,610
1719	875,358	1744	1,156,952
1720	1,117,576	1745	1,024,097
1721	852,529	1746	1,148,124
1722	1,015,617	1747	941,116

* No alteration has been made in the Rate of Value of this Office since the year 1697.—According to the prices in the market, for some years past, the actual value would greatly exceed the Inspector's calculation.

YEARS.	VALUE.	YEARS.	VALUE.
1748	L.1,615,122	1774	L.3,574,702
1749	1,478,075	1775	3,688,795
1750	1,514,452	1776	2,340,949
1751	1,444,775	1777	2,840,802
1752	1,428,824	1778	3,059,922
1753	1,838,137	1779	2,836,489
1754	1,462,601	1780	2,612,236
1755	1,867,256	1781	2,023,546
1756	1,687,177	1782	2,612,910
1757	1,906,147	1783	2,820,387
1758	1,858,425	1784	3,531,705
1759	1,833,646	1785	4,400,956
1760	1,861,668	1786	3,484,025
1761	1,953,622	1787	3,758,087
1762	1,762,406	1788	4,307,866
1763	2,254,231	1789	3,917,301
1764	2,391,552	1790	3,854,204
1765	2,196,549	1791	3,651,611
1766	2,705,114	1792	4,128,047
1767	2,690,673	1793	4,339,613
1768	2,942,717	1794	5,294,742
1769	2,686,714	1795	4,645,972
1770	2,110,026	1796	4,541,217
1771	2,979,378	1797	5,173,069
1772	3,530,082	1798	6,390,658
1773	2,902,407		

No. II.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Imported into England between the 5th of January 1699, and the 5th of January 1755, and thereafter into Great Britain, to the 5th of January 1775; also, An Account, for the same periods, of the Quantity of RAW and REFINED SUGARS Exported: Distinguishing each Year, and the Raw from the Refined.

	Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported.			Refined Sugar Exported		
YEARS.	QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
1699	427,573	2	25	182,325	2	4	14,302	0	20
1700	489,326	1	7	165,391	3	16	17,644	2	23
1701	435,465	1	21	133,917	3	11	3,475	1	17
1702	259,062	3	6	45,036	1	5	2,908	2	24
1703	408,914	0	1	84,016	2	26	621	1	25
1704	315,837	2	12	133,713	1	8	1,339	0	15
1705	370,157	1	7	71,822	1	7	690	3	18
1706	335,873	3	3	107,217	0	16	1,846	2	23
1707	388,267	3	26	131,832	2	25	2,156	2	13
1708	377,107	2	11	64,180	3	6	2,365	1	18
1709	397,570	3	12	74,377	3	23	924	0	18
1710	507,662	1	21	117,075	2	5	2,146	2	21
1711	366,394	1	26	82,142	2	24	1,800	2	16
1712	423,541	0	1	119,567	1	8	8,579	2	18
1713	503,528	1	8	184,609	0	12	3,493	1	10
1714	512,221	3	0	158,996	3	6	3,482	3	3
1715	617,414	3	11	143,337	1	13	4,481	3	14
1716	684,759	2	16	161,941	3	3	4,549	0	1
1717	763,175	3	14	290,179	2	11	9,993	0	2
1718	566,885	0	1	124,375	1	13	13,188	1	9
1719	544,634	0	25	167,622	0	20	3,644	2	19
1720	706,385	3	20	121,778	0	9	3,106	3	7
1721	497,611	0	21	66,743	3	11	3,786	2	25
1722	616,941	0	9	83,609	2	5	5,245	2	2
1723	660,766	2	9	63,479	1	7	4,914	2	12
1724	729,133	2	13	110,088	1	11	5,177	2	19
1725	851,952	2	25	147,408	2	1	6,293	3	5
1726	668,346	1	9	146,915	3	22	8,414	2	7
1727	645,158	0	1	112,699	3	21	11,073	3	1
1728	972,240	0	1	210,320	3	23	29,134	1	4
1729	994,761	3	24	158,746	2	13	13,686	1	2
1730	1,024,078	2	3	167,980	1	12	14,538	0	23
1731	818,277	1	12	95,832	0	1	21 077	2	26
1732	822,844	3	15	121,904	3	18	16,511	3	18
1733	1,001,784	2	0	102,274	0	5	27,008	2	5
1734	695,679	3	9	44,932	0	8	13,275	0	26
1735	903,634	2	22	69,899	2	25	21,070	1	0
1736	877,591	0	24	58,569	3	26	19,706	2	24
1737	550,900	1	10	40,779	3	17	11,331	3	6
1738	864,252	1	0	49,437	1	6	9,197	1	23
1739	951 073	3	4	63,149	0	3	15,881	2	10
1740	706,947	0	8	67,144	2	16	15 046	1	9
1741	886,124	1	0	68,450	0	3	19,449	3	15

	Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported.			Refined Sugar Exported		
YEARS.	QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
1742	731,410	3	11	50,231	0	10	12,599	3	24
1743	895,134	1	26	151,126	3	11	26,624	3	14
1744	724,411	2	14	58,198	0	19	17,687	0	2
1745	655,199	3	0	78,344	3	9	17,689	0	11
1746	753,472	1	19	92,826	2	22	13,616	3	27
1747	806,458	2	14	51,935	1	15	10,111	0	1
1748	982,588	2	13	115,727	1	11	10,801	3	21
1749	933,271	3	9	127,921	1	0	30,928	2	2
1750	915,344	2	5	107,964	0	22	21,846	3	15
1751	825,936	2	0	43,769	3	6	22,325	2	15
1752	825,121	1	16	35,712	2	16	13,508	3	20
1753	1,114,084	3	26	55,687	2	6	11,224	3	7
1754	859,131	2	12	42,818	2	17	12,298	1	15
1755	1,202,679	3	14	110,853	0	26	14,364	2	1
1756	1,051,265	3	6	206,336	2	0	30,017	3	2
1757	1,230,843	0	20	70,625	0	9	16,758	0	23
1758	1,145,628	2	3	220,824	3	14	62,771	3	0
1759	1,199,682	2	26	174,234	0	9	107,626	2	10
1760	1,374,720	2	5	143,683	1	23	58,650	3	18
1761	1,491,317	3	16	393,324	0	13	108,891	1	7
1762	1,444,581	1	4	322,253	2	7	87,033	2	23
1763	1,732,174	1	5	413,199	3	22	102,514	3	19
1764	1,488,079	0	15	197,579	0	25	176,302	3	23
1765	1,227,159	3	18	149,125	1	5	114,851	2	0
1766	1,522,732	2	19	129,236	2	4	27,602	0	10
1767	1,538,834	1	8	209,533	1	25	35,968	1	12
1768	1,651,512	2	14	227,193	3	21	39,273	2	27
1769	1,525,070	0	5	216,384	0	0	34,041	2	16
1770	1,818,229	1	23	199,738	1	9	43,609	1	19
1771	1,492,096	2	24	195,859	1	1	55,210	0	13
1772	1,786,045	0	1	173,661	1	3	31,300	3	23
1773	1,762,387	3	15	186,649	3	19	29,543	3	26
1774	2,015,911	1	15	223,250	0	2	34,089	0	14
1775	2,002,224	3	8	345,012	2	0	69,790	3	20

No. III.

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of SUGAR Imported from the British West India Islands into Great Britain, in the under-mentioned Years; also, An Account, for the same Period, of the Quantity of RAW and REFINED SUGARS Exported from Great Britain; distinguishing the Quantity Exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity Exported to foreign Parts

YEARS.	Quantity of British Plantation Sugar Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported to Ireland and other Parts of the Empire.			Refined Sugar Exported to Ireland and other Parts of the Empire.			Raw Sugar Exported to foreign Parts.			Refined Sugar Exported to foreign Parts.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs*	*lbs.*	*cwt*	*qrs.*	*lbs*
1787 . .	1,926,121	0	3	196,636	3	20	24,261	2	0	2,779	1	16	52,473	3	19
1788 . .	2,065,700	0	12	138,681	3	19	17,150	3	9	6,575	0	20	58,250	2	6
1789 . .	1,935,223	2	21	149,551	2	0	20,506	1	17	4,461	3	15	118,033	1	22
1790 . .	1,882,005	0	17	127,104	1	3	13,968	1	17	15,011	2	15	105,892	2	1
Total . .	7,809,049	3	25	611,774	2	14	75,887	0	15	28,828	0	10	334,650	1	20
Average .	1,952,262	1	27	152,943	2	17	18,971	3	4	7,207	0	2	83,662	2	12

The following shews the ANNUAL CONSUMPTION of Great Britain on an Average of the Four Years last above mentioned, viz.

	cwt	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
Imported—RAW SUGAR on an average as above . .	1,952,262	1	27
Exported—RAW and REFINED, the latter reduced to raw .	296,996	1	11
Total of Home Consumption .	1,655,266	0	16,

being equal to 118,233 hogsheads of 14 cwt.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
GROSS DUTIES received in 1787 . .	1,188,083	1	10
Deduct Drawbacks . 122,973 7 11			
Bounties . . 93,301 14 3	216,275	2	2
Net Produce	971,807	19	8

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
GROSS DUTIES received in 1788 . .	1,273,920	15	0
Deduct Drawbacks . 89,461 19 10			
Bounties . . 113,499 18 11	202,961	18	9
Net Produce	1,070,958	16	3

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
GROSS DUTIES received in 1789 . . .	1,194,915	2	7
Deduct Drawbacks . . 99,808 19 10¼			
Bounties . . . 138,758 17 3	283,567	17	1¼
Net Produce	911,347	5	5¼

No. IV.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Imported into, and of BRITISH PLANTATION and REFINED SUGAR Exported from Great Britain, in the following Years; with the Amount of the DUTIES collected on IMPORTATION, and of the DRAWBACKS and BOUNTIES paid on EXPORTATION.

YEARS.	BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Imported.						BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR Exported.						Net Produce of Duties subject to Charges of Management and Payment of Bounties, &c.			REFINED SUGAR Exported.					
	Quantity.			Gross Duty.			Quantity.			Drawback.						Quantity.			Bounty.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
1791	1,808,950	0	7	1,350,893	10	9	135,470	3	8	81,116	11	1	1,269,776	19	8	158,573	3	24	206,146	3	0
1792	1,981,479	1	14	1,486,047	17	9	239,561	2	21	171,928	15	1	1,314,119	2	8	226,217	0	9	301,808	10	8
1793	2,116,530	2	18	1,587,444	6	3	336,612	2	20	150,537	6	0	1,436,907	0	3	115,449	0	11	156,636	19	7
1794	2,336,416	0	13	1,752,253	8	0	429,362	3	4	381,072	4	2	1,371,181	3	10	303,715	2	26	361,473	5	8
1795	1,875,922	1	8	1,406,930	4	1	263,415	1	3	190,013	17	1	1,210,916	7	0	264,157	3	24	351,172	6	6
1796	1,951,612	0	19	1,463,759	6	10	183,306	3	6	135,240	5	4	1,328,519	1	6	187,223	0	23	249,685	17	6
1797	1,881,497	1	17	1,641,293	10	4	359,049	3	0	233,428	1	4	1,407,865	9	0	177,545	0	27	174,637	7	9
1798	2,361,715	0	8	2,070,377	2	7	532,399	1	23	305,354	3	2	1,765,022	19	5	238,440	1	2	216,659	15	9

No. V.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of BRITISH PLANTATION SUGAR and RUM Imported into and Exported from Great Britain, between the 5th Day of January 1798, and the 5th Day of January 1799; distinguishing the Places from whence the same have been imported; with the Amount of the Duties received, and the Drawbacks and Bounties paid thereon.——*** (The Excise Duties on Rum are not included.)

NAMES OF THE PLACES.	IMPORTED.				EXPORTED.					
	SUGAR.		RUM.		SUGAR.		RUM.		REFINED SUGAR.	
	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Drawback.	Quantity.	Drawback.	Quantity.	Bounty.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	*L. s. d.*	*Gallons.*	*L. s. d.*	*cwt. qrs. lbs.*	*L. s. d.*	*Gallons.*	*L. s.*	*cwt. qrs. lbs.*	*L. s. d.*
Antigua .	86,822 2 6	— —	180,336							
Barbadoes	159,969 1 20	— —	75,335							
Dominica	49,294 3 27	— —	53,727							
Grenada .	107,641 3 5	— —	117,530							
Jamaica .	1,187,404 0 21	— —	2,948,644							
Montserrat	34,674 1 1	— —	65,137							
Nevis . .	46,379 3 13	— —	58,296							
St. Kitts .	100,142 0 0	— —	170,571							
St. Vincent	145,534 1 23	— —	142,385							
Tortola .	37,081 2 11	— —	53,095							
Martinique	218,380 3 22	— —	13,508							
Demarara	30,244 2 11	— —	58,671							
Trinidada	29,972 0 4	— —	3,803							
St. Domingo	24,534 3 1	— —	369							
Tobago .	103,637 2 11	— —	254,786							
Total .	2,361,715 0 8	2,070,377 2 7	4,196,193	95,996 6 5	532,399 1 23	305,354 3 2	333,093	5,866 10	238,440 1 2	216,659 15 9

For the following TABLES *(which were not to be obtained at any Public Department in Great Britain) the Author is indebted to the Kindness of* JOHN FORBES, *Esq. a very distinguished Member of the Irish Parliament, since deceased.*

No. VI.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity and Value of all GOODS Exported from Ireland to the West Indies, for the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792.

EXPORTS from IRELAND to the WEST INDIES.—Year ending Lady Day, 1790

	Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value
	Ale . . *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	*L. s. d.*
	Aquavitæ . *Gallons.*	—	—	120	—	—	—	—	—	120	120 0 0
Bacon.	Hams . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	144 3 21	—	350 1 0	—	—	—	—	0 0 14	495 1 7	940 11 10
Bacon.	Flitches . *Flitches*	52	—	102	—	—	—	—	20	172	129 0 0
	Beef . . *Barrels.*	3,213	2,806½	15,012	24	391½	2,985	231½	11,293¾	35,957	62,924 15 0
	Beer . . *Barrels.*	120½	—	446	—	—	—	—	156	722	361 0 0
	Bread . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	92 0 14	64 0 0	500 0 14	—	12 0 0	46 0 0	—	379 2 0	1,093 3 0	656 5 0
	Bullion . . *Ounces.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Butter . *Cwt. qrs lbs.*	1,328 1 7	2,898 1 21	9,811 1 14	11 0 0	311 0 0	3,742 2 7	419 1 21	4,374 3 21	22,897 0 7	48,656 0 0
	Candles . *Cwt qrs. lbs.*	226 2 0	363 0 21	590 1 0	1 0 0	98 0 0	204 0 0	85 0 0	504 2 0	2,072 3 21	3,869 12 0
	Cards, Playing *Doz Packs.*	—	—	150	—	—	—	—	—	150	45 0 0
	Cheese . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	13 3 14	1 0 0	69 2 7	—	—	—	—	42 1 7	126 3 0	189 15 0
	Cordage . *Cwt qrs. lbs.*	40 0 0	—	60 0 0	—	—	—	—	60 0 0	160 0 0	224 0 0
	Cyder . *Tuns Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn.	Barley . *Barrels.*	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	6	7 4 0
Corn.	Beans . *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	98	98	61 5 0
Corn.	Oats . *Barrels.*	1,065	232	192	—	573	480	—	1,279½	3,821	1,432 17 6
Corn.	Pease . *Barrels.*	1½	19	10¼	—	—	—	—	1	32	19 4 0
Corn.	Wheat . *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Drap. New . Yards.	300	120	15,320	—	—	—	—	346	16,086	2,010 15 0
Drap. Old . Yards.	750	720	143	—	—	—	—	—	1,613	537 13 4
Feathers . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	3 3 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 3 0	8 8 9
Fish. Herrings . Barrels.	84	133½	5,801	30	—	474	—	648	7,170	7,170 0 0
Fish. Ling . Cwt qrs. lbs.	5 2 0	3 3 0	18 2 0	—	0 1 15	15 3 0	—	8 3 20	52 3 7	158 5 0
Fish. Salmon . Tuns. Trs.	18 3	4 1	6 4½	—	5 0	1 2	—	6 4	41 6	492 0 0
Flannel . . Yards.	—	—	80	—	—	—	—	—	80	4 0 0
Fustians . . Yards.	—	—	296	—	—	—	—	—	296	14 16 0
Glass. Cases . . No.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass. Drinking . Numb.	7,902	—	4,824	—	—	—	—	—	12,726	127 0 0
Glass. Ware . Value.	216 19 0	9 16 0	248 3 0	—	—	—	—	—	474 18 0	474 18 0
Gloves . . Pairs.	—	—	156	—	—	—	—	36	192	28 16 0
Groceries, Small Parcels Val.	3 0 0	—	8 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	11 10 0	11 10 0
Haber. Thread . Pounds	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	2 2 0
Haber. Small Parcels Value.	—	1 16 0	22 13 0	—	—	—	—	0 8 4	24 17 4	27 17 4
Hair. Cows . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hair. Horse . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hair Powder Cwt. qrs. lbs.	13 0 7	6 0 0	17 0 0	—	1 0 0	—	—	1 1 7	38 1 14	. 57 11 3
Hardware . Value.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hats . . Numb.	450	500	144	—	—	2	—	—	1,096	274 0 0
Hog's Lard . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	8 2 0	—	—	—	—	0 0 14	—	—	8 2 14	12 18 9
Hides. Tanned . Numb.	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	20 0 0
Hides. Ditto . . Cwt. qrs.	—	7 3 21	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 3 21	22 4 9
Hides. Untanned . Num.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	100	133 6 8
Horses . . No.	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	104	139	834 0 0
Iron. Wrought Cwt. qrs. lbs.	60 0 0	—	42 1 0	—	—	—	—	—	102 1 0	204 10 0
Iron. Small Parcels Value.	—	3 10 0	1 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	4 10 0	4 10 0
Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory . . Value.	1,362 15 4	794 10 0	3,002 10 3	—	—	—	—	977 0 0	6,136 15 7	6,136 15 7
Linen. Cambric . . Yards.	—	—	3,563	—	—	—	19	17¾	3,600	900 0 0
Linen. Cloth, Plain . Yards.	177,873	86,492	590,990	—	962	2,505	200	162,799	1,021,821	68,121 8 0
Linen. Coloured . . Yards.	8,883	3,965	57,035	—	—	—	—	1,778	71,661	5,822 9 1

continued.

——Year ending Lady-Day 1790, *continued.*——

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Meal. Flour . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	129 1 21	129 1 21	L. 172 0 0
Meal. Groats . . *Barrels.*	—	10	8	—	—	—	—	—	18	9 0 0
Meal. Oatmeal *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	200 0 0	101 0 0	23 0 0	—	—	2 0 0	—	31 3 21	357 3 21	107 8 0
Millinery Ware . *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mutton . . *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	1½	—	—	1½	2 5 0
Oil, Rape *Tuns, Hhds. Gals.*	—	—	0 0 24	—	—	—	—	—	0 0 24	—
Paper, Writing . *Reams.*	—	6	67	—	—	—	—	—	73	24 6 8
Pork . . . *Barrels.*	2,022	3,617	9,378	10	88	1,083	26½	3,664	19,888	29,832 0 0
Sadler's Ware . *Value.*	80 10 0	2 0 0	67 7 0	—	—	—	3 12 0	16 7 6	169 19 6	169 19 6
Salt . . . . *Bushels.*	—	—	156	—	—	—	—	4	160	10 0 0
Shoes . . . . *Pounds.*	787	1,020	1,062½	—	—	112	—	2,428	5,409	1,352 0 0
Soap . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	45 1 7	56 1 14	799 3 21	1 0 0	32 3 0	8 3 0	—	118 2 14	1,062 3 0	1,770 0 0
Skins. Calf . . *Doz. No.*	4 0	—	28 7	—	—	—	—	—	32 7	37 6 4
Skins. Goat . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	6 3 20	—	—	—	—	—	6 3 20	42 0 0
Stationary Ware . *Value.*	13 15 0	7 13 0	47 6 9	—	—	—	—	0 18 0	69 12 9	69 12 9
Stockings. Cotton . . *Pairs.*	—	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	24	3 12 0
Stockings. Thread . . *Pairs.*	—	—	108	—	—	—	—	24	132	16 10 0
Stockings. Woollen . . *Pairs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	600	600	60 0 0
Starch . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	21 0 0	—	17 0 0	—	1 0 0	—	—	—	39 0 0	54 0 0
Stone Blue	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	804	804	23 9 0
Tallow . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	7 0 14	22 1 0	216 3 0	—	—	3 1 7	1 0 0	39 2 7	295 0 0	590 0 0
Tongues . . . *Dozens.*	394 6	238 10	1,046 10	3 0	—	160	26 0	368 0	2,237 2	1,398 2 0
Upholstery Ware . *Value.*	—	28 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	28 0 0	28 0 0
Wax Candles *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Small Parcels in gen. *Value.*	158 10 1	103 3 5	348 15 3	—	32 13 4	105 3 4	7 10 0	269 7 8	1,025 3 1	1,025 3 1

Value of Exports in 1790 . . £. 250,044 18 11

No. VI.——EXPORTS from IRELAND to the WEST INDIES.—Year ending Lady Day, 1791.

Denominations.		Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Ale	*Barrels.*	—	60	152	—	—	—	—	—	212	*L.* 212 0 0
Aquavitæ	*Gallons.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bacon. Hams	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	57 0 0	67 2 0	91 1 21	—	—	—	—	50 0 0	265 3 21	505 8 0
Bacon. Flitches	*Flitches.*	—	—	210	—	—	—	—	354	564	423 0 0
Beef	*Barrels.*	2,056½	3,188	11,973½	—	111¾	2,281⅓	644⅔	10,225½	30,481	53,341 15 0
Beer	*Barrels.*	64	—	540	—	—	—	—	288	892	446 0 0
Bread	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	74 3 0	113 0 0	958 2 21	—	—	28 0 0	—	479 1 0	1,655 2 21	993 8 3
Bullion	*Ounces.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	150	150	45 0 0
Butter	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	1,266 0 7	3 655 2 14	8,812 1 7	—	319 0 0	4,583 3 21	1,067 0 14	7,296 1 14	27,000 0 21	57.375 0 0
Candles	*Cwt qrs. lbs.*	339 0 14	456 2 0	1,146 2 0	11 0 0	100 0 0	291 0 0	320 0 0	570 1 7	3 234 1 21	6,037 0 0
Cards, Playing	*Doz. Packs.*	—	—	128 4	—	—	—	—	—	128 4	38 18 0
Cheese	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	11 3 0	1 2 0	70 3 14	—	—	—	—	20 0 21	104 1 7	156 0 0
Cordage	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	21 0 0	75 1 14	280 0 0	—	—	—	—	170 0 0	546 1 14	764 18 0
Cyder	*Tuns Hhds Galls.*	—	—	2 31½	—	—	—	—	—	2 31½	3 0 0
Corn. Barley	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn. Beans	*Barrels.*	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	871	971	606 17 0
Corn. Oats	*Barrels.*	1,253	556	715½	—	—	351	242	601½	6,719	1,394 12 6
Corn. Pease	*Barrels.*	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	1 16 0
Corn. Wheat	*Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	131	—	240	371	500 17 0
Drapy. New	*Yards.*	—	52	724	—	—	—	—	35,122	35,893	4,487 5 0
Drapy. Old	*Yards.*	150	—	452	—	—	—	—	—	602	200 13 4
Feathers	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	6 3 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	6 3 0	15 3 9

continued.

——Year ending Lady-Day 1791, *continued.*——

	Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Fish.	Herrings . *Barrels.*	133	—	440	367	—	½	—	318	1,258	L 1,258 0 0
	Ling . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	4 0 25	2 3 20	16 0 0	—	0 2 20	5 1 18	0 2 20	11 1 14	41 1 5	123 0 0
	Salmon . *Tuns. Trs.*	17 1	2 0	7 1	—	—	4½	5	20 3	57 6	684 0 0
Flannel . .	*Yards.*	—	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	140	7 0 0
Fustians . .	*Yards.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass.	Cases . . *No.*	—	—	10½	—	—	—	—	—	10½	15 0 0
	Drinking . *Numb.*	3,600	1,200	2,592	—	—	—	—	—	7,392	75 0 0
	Ware . . *Value.*	90 0 0	36 10 0	527 9 6	—	—	5 0 0	—	0 10 0	659 9 6	659 9 6
Gloves . .	*Pairs.*	—	324	2,592	—	—	—	—	—	2,916	437 8 0
Groceries, Sm. Parcels	*Val.*	19 10 0	—	11 8 0	—	—	—	—	11 17 0	42 15 0	42 15 0
Haber.	Thread . . *Pounds.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	12	3 17 0
	Small Parcels *Value.*	—	2 0 0	7 5 6	—	—	—	—	2 6 0	11 17 6	11 17 6
Hair.	Cows . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	73 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	73 0 0	94 16 0
	Horse . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	1 0 7	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 0 7	6 0 0
Hair Powder	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	10 0 0	26 2 0	131 3 21	—	—	300	—	28 0 0	199 1 21	299 3 1
Hardware . .	*Value.*	—	—	1 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	1 0 0	1 0 0
Hats . . .	*Numb.*	—	36	519	—	—	400	—	24	979	244 15 0
Hog's Lard .	*Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	3 1 21	30 0 0	54 0 7	—	—	—	—	—	87 2 0	130 10 0
Hides.	Tanned . . *Numb.*	—	612	—	—	—	—	—	—	612	1,222 0 0
	Ditto . . *Cwt. qrs.*	33 0 0	1 3 4	—	—	—	—	—	—	34 3 4	97 8 0
	Untanned . *Numb.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Horses . . .	*No.*	86	47	—	—	—	—	—	120	253	1,518 0 0
Iron.	Wrought *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	152 0 0	—	—	—	—	180 0 0	332 0 0	664 0 0
	Small Parcels . *Value.*	—	—	2 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	2 10 0	2 10 0

Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory . . *Value.*	—	670 8 6	4,740 17 0	—	30 16 0	—	—	881 16 6	6,323 18 0	6,323 18 0
Linen. Cambric . . *Yards.*	—	—	1,257	—	—	—	—	2,265	3,522	880 10 0
Linen. Cloth, Plain . *Yards.*	214,405	97,404	1,126,348	—	—	10,545	1,873	303,384	1,753,959	116,930 12 0
Linen. Coloured . . *Yards.*	11,666	18,171	37,000	—	1,304	—	—	8,060	76,201	6,191 6 7
Malt. Flour . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	1 0 0	2,978 0 14	—	—	171 1 14	8 3 21	676 1 20	3,835 3 13	3,196 13 0
Malt. Groats . . *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Malt. Oatmeal *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	472 0 0	220 1 0	439 0 14	—	—	12 0 0	50 1 0	18 0 0	1,311 2 14	393 9 0
Millinery Ware . *Value.*	—	—	10 0 0	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0
Mutton . . *Barrels.*	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1 10 0
Oil, Rape *Tuns, Hhds. Gals.*	—	—	31½	—	—	—	—	—	31½	—
Paper, Writing . *Reams.*	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1 6 8
Pork . . . . *Barrels.*	1,150	2,920	6,273	—	110	787	213	6,624	18,077	27,115 10 0
Sadler's Ware . *Value.*	—	8 12 0	47 15 0	—	—	—	—	44 0 0	100 7 0	100 7 0
Salt . . . . *Bushels.*	—	2½	135	—	—	—	—	—	137½	8 11 0
Shoes . . . . *Pounds.*	1,638	632	3,178	—	—	364	—	2,308	8,120	2,030 0 0
Soap . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	151 3 21	194 3 2	2,075 2 14	8 0 0	—	59 1 0	23 0 0	451 1 21	2,964 0 2	4,940 0 0
Skins. Calf . . *Doz. No.*	3 0	—	10 10	—	—	—	—	—	13 10	16 6 8
Skins. Goat . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*										
Stationary Ware . *Value.*	—	7 6 0	14 2 0	—	—	—	—	2 1 0	23 9 0	23 9 0
Stockings. Cotton . . *Pairs.*	—	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	24	3 12 0
Stockings. Thread . . *Pairs.*										
Stockings. Woollen . . *Pairs.*										
Starch . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	27 0 0	5 0 0	84 2 21	—	—	3 0 0	—	25 0 0	144 2 21	203 0 0
Stone Blue	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tallow . . *Cwt. qrs lbs.*	1 3 0	31 3 0	237 1 21	—	—	10 3 21	1 2 0	32 2 0	315 3 14	632 0 0
Tongues . . . *Dozens.*	139 0	170 0	1,083 6	—	15 0	108 6	44 0	331 2	1,891 2	1,181 0 0
Upholstery Ware . *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	—	—	5 0 0	5 0 0
Wax Candles *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	0 2 21	1 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	2 0 0	17 0 0
Small Parcels in gen. *Value.*	57 10 8	96 5 6	349 3 0	—	1 5 6	92 12 9	4 14 0	262 14 8	864 6 1	864 6 1

Value of Exports in 1791 . . . £. 306,220 9 11

No. VI.——EXPORTS from IRELAND to the WEST INDIES.—Year ending Lady-Day 1792.

	Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
	Ale . . *Barrels.*	—	—	197¼	—	—	—	—	131¾	329	329 0 0
	Aquavitæ . *Gallons.*	—	290	—	—	—	—	—	—	290	43 10 0
Bacon.	Hams . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	15 0 0	20 0 0	171 1 0	—	—	—	—	42 0 15	248 1 15	471 18 3
Bacon.	Flitches . *Flitches.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	40	30 0 0
	Beef . . *Barrels.*	2,025	3,494	17,995	—	—	1,984	1,371	12,161	39,030	68,302 10 0
	Beer . . *Barrels.*	44	—	523	—	—	—	—	316	883	441 10 0
	Bread . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	77 3 0	40 0 0	604 2 12	—	—	48 0 0	30 0 0	730 1 6	1,530 2 18	918 6 0
	Bullion . . *Ounces.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Butter . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	1,437 3 11	3,057 3 6	11,996 3 23	—	—	6,220 2 0	288 1 22	7,479 1 4	30,480 3 7	64,772 0 0
	Candles . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	398 2 10	549 0 0	1,752 0 6	—	—	329 0 0	216 3 4	1,500 0 0	4,745 1 20	8,858 5 8
	Cards, Playing *Doz. Packs.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Cheese . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	6 0 0	—	100 3 0	—	—	5 0 0	—	44 3 25	156 2 25	234 15 0
	Cordage . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	20 0 0	—	170 0 0	—	—	—	—	392 1 4	582 1 4	815 3 0
	Cyder . *Tuns, Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn.	Barley . *Barrels.*	—	—	4½	—	—	—	—	2½	7	4 4 0
Corn.	Beans . *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Corn.	Oats . . *Barrels.*	315	500	391	—	—	669	—	2,236½	4,211	1,579 2 6
Corn.	Pease . *Barrels.*	—	—	55	—	—	—	—	1½	56	33 12 0
Corn.	Wheat . *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drapy.	New . . *Yards.*	567	—	364	—	—	—	—	1,100	2,031	253 17 6
Drapy.	Old . . *Yards.*	2,198	—	642	—	—	—	—	161	3,001	1,000 6 8
	Feathers . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	7 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	7	15 15 0
Fish.	Herrings . *Barrels.*	40	75	2,640	—	—	9	—	1,304	4,068	4,068 0 0
Fish.	Ling . *Cwt qrs. lbs.*	2 2 18	1 2 17	35 3 12	—	—	5 1 21	—	25 3 25	71 2 9	213 0 0
Fish.	Salmon . *Tuns. Trs.*	9 4½	1 5	11 2	—	—	1 5	—	4 2½	28 3	336 0 0

Flannel . . Yards.	1,210		300	—	—	—	—	—	1,510	75 10 0
Fustians . . Yards.	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass. Cases . . No.	—		21	—	—	—	—	—	21	31 10 0
Glass. Drinking . Numb.	—	2,072	8,879	—	—	—	—	4,356	15,307	153 0 0
Glass. Ware . . Value.	10 0 0	71 7 0	577 10 8	—	—	12 0 0	—	32 10 0	703 7 8	703 7 8
Gloves . . Pairs.	1,464	—	1,200	—	—	—	—	—	2,664	399 12 0
Groceries, Sm. Parcels Val.	1 2 7	1 16 0	55 11 0	—	—	2 2 0	—	20 9 0	81 0 7	81 0 7
Haber. Thread . . Pounds.	—	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	50	13 15 0
	—									
Haber. Small Parcels Value.	2 0 0	—	38 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	40 0 0	40 0 0
Hair. Cows . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—									
Hair. Horse . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hair Powder Cwt. qrs. lbs.	12 0 0	14 0 0	344 0 0	—	—	—	—	153 2 18	523 2 18	785 7 0
Hardware . . Value.	11 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11 0 0	11 0 0
Hats . . . Numb.	—	434	634	—	—	—	—	—	1,068	267 0 0
Hog's Lard . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	21 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	27 1 14	48 1 14	72 11 3
Hides. Tanned . . Numb.	—	—	38	—	—	—	—	—	38	76 0 0
Hides. Ditto . Cwt. qrs	—	6 0 0	0 2 8	—	—	—	—	15 2 4	56 3 16	159 4 4
Hides. Untanned . . Numb.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7	9 0 0
Horses . . . No.	68	19	—	—	—	—	—	194	281	1,681 0 0
Iron. Wrought Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—	—	230 0 0	—	—	—	—	92 2 3	322 2 3	644 1 0
Iron. Small Parcels Value.	—	1 0 0	2 10 0	—	—	—	—	—	3 10 0	3 10 0
Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory . . Value.	262 11 10	363 3 2	9,088 4 1	—	—	425 12 0	170 16 0	3,282 17 3	13,593 4 4	13,593 4 4
Linen. Cambric . . Yards.	—	—	7,223	—	—	—	—	397	7,620	1,905 0 0
Linen. Cloth, Plain . Yards.	151,142½	95,947	836,409	—	—	16,314	—	532,973	1,632,785	108 852 6 8
Linen. Coloured . . Yards.	4,898	4,161	28,792	—	—	2,175	—	22,680	62,706	5,094 17 3
Meal. Flour . Cwt. qrs. lbs.	—		91 2 0	—	—	322 3 21	—	343 2 0	757 3 21	1,010 13 4
Meal. Groats . Barrels.	—		5	—	—	—	—	—	5	5 0 0
Meal. Oatmeal Cwt. qrs. lbs.	540 0 0	75 0 0	153 1 0	—	—	111 3 0	—	85 2 0	765 2 0	229 13 0
Millinery Ware . Value.										
Mutton . . Barrels.										

continued.

——Year ending Lady-Day 1792, *continued*.——

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.	St. Kitt's	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Oil, Rape *Tuns, Hhds. Gals.*										
Paper, Writing . *Reams.*	215	—	18	—	—	—	—	—	233	69 18 0
Pork . . . *Barrels.*	1,186	1,299	9,309	—	—	1,133	156½	3,027⅔	16,111	24,166 10 0
Sadler's Ware . *Value.*	12 0 0	10 0 0	79 3 6	—	—	—	—	12 0 0	113 3 6	113 3 6
Salt . . . . *Bushels.*	—	—	341	—	—	—	—	—	341	21 6 3
Shoes . . . . *Pounds.*	1,054	1,018	11,190	—	—	498	—	5,973	19,733	4,933 5 0
Soap . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	231 1 0	112 2 0	1,918 1 9	—	—	11 2 0	—	870 1 27	3,144 0 8	5,240 0 0
Skins. { Calf . . *Doz. No.*	—	—	3 0	—	—	—	—	—	3 0	3 10 0
Skins. { Goat . *Cwt. qrs. No.*										
Stationary Ware . *Value.*	9 11 0	4 0 0	28 5 6	—	—	0 10 0	—	10 4 0	52 10 6	52 10 6
Stockings. { Cotton . . *Pairs.*										
Stockings. { Thread . . *Pairs.*										
Stockings. { Woollen . . *Pairs.*										
Starch . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	10 0 0	5 0 0	96 0 0	—	—	7 0 0	—	52 1 0	170 1 0	238 7 0
Stone Blue										
Tallow . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	5 0 0	92 0 14	246 0 13	—	—	32 0 3	3 0 0	61 1 5	439 2 7	879 0 0
Tongues . . . *Dozens.*	104 3	161 0	1,248 0	—	—	89 0	43 0	553 0 0	2,198 3 0	1,374 7 6
Upholstery Ware . *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	72 0 0	—	—	72 0 0	72 0 0
Wax Candles *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	16 2 24	—	—	—	—	1 2 16	18 1 12	155 0 0
Small Parcels in gen. *Value.*	57 19 6	64 9 1	283 17 4	—	—	105 7 4	5 5 0	340 17 5	857 15 8	857 15 8
								Value of Exports in 1792 . .		£. 326,794 12 5

No. VII.

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity and Value of all GOODS Imported from the West Indies into the Kingdom of Ireland, for the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792.

IMPORTS from the WEST INDIES into IRELAND.—Year ending Lady-Day, 1790.

	Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
	Brass, Shruff *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	2 0 21	—	—	—	2 0 21	*L.* 7 2 6
	Bullion . . *Ounces.*	—	—	192	—	—	150	342	114 0 0
	Chocolate . . . . *lbs.*								
	Coffee . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	7 0 14	—	301 3 0	—	—	85 2 14	394 0 2	3,940 0 0
	Copper Plates and Bricks. *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
	Drugs . . . . *Value.*	27 17 0	43 19 2	242 19 0	—	—	69 15 0	384 10 2	384 10 2
Dying Stuffs.	Fustic . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	400 0 0	400 1 0	—	—	260 0 0	1,060 1 0	742 3 6
Dying Stuffs.	Indigo . . . *lbs.*	—	—	160	—	—	—	160	53 6 8
Dying Stuffs.	Logwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	40 0 0	—	1,477 3 0	—	—	20 0 0	1,537 3 0	3,459 18 9
Dying Stuffs.	Redwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Dying Stuffs.	Sanders . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Dying Stuffs.	Small Parcels . *Value.*	—	28 0 0	100 0 0	—	—	—	128 0 0	128 0 0
	Anniseeds *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	220 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	220 1 7	293 15 0
Groceries.	Cocoa Nuts . . *lbs.*	—	—	2,687	—	—	10,577	13,264	663 4 0
Groceries.	Ginger . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	71 1 21	40 0 21	—	—	0 1 7	111 3 21	167 18 1
Groceries.	Pepper . . *Pounds.*	—	—	211	—	—	—	211	14 1 4
Groceries.	Piamento . *Pounds.*	—	—	10,890	—	—	—	10,890	544 10 0
Groceries.	Rice . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Groceries.	Succard *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	50 0 0	377 0 0	386½	—	—	108½	922 0 0	138 6 0
Groceries.	Sugar, Muscavado *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	13,738 0 7	2,777 2 0	11,628 0 0	—	88 7 3 7	6,221 2 21	35,253 0 7	79,319 5 0
Groceries.	Small Parcels . *Value.*	20 2 0	8 19 2	83 19 0	—	—	15 9 2	128 9 4	128 9 4

——Year ending Lady Day 1790, *continued.*——

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Hides, tanned . *Number.*								
Lime, Lemon, and O-Juice *Gallons.*								
Molasses . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Oranges and Lemons *Cwt. qrs. No.*	22 0							
Skins, Losh . . *Numb.*	—	—	10	—	—	6	16	8 0 0
Spirits, Rum . *Gallons.*	80,114	13,098	362,003	16,664	—	161,372	633,251	63,325 2 0
Tar . . . . *Barrels.*	—	47	—	—	—	—	47	28 4 0
Tobacco . . . *Pounds.*	—	—	—	—	—	3,130	3,130	78 5 0
Toys . . . . . *Value.*	—	—	9 17 0	—	—	5 2 3	14 19 3	14 19 3
Wine, Port *Tuns, Hhds. Galls.*	1 0 10½	—	19 3 0	—	—	1 3 21	22 2 31	540 0 0
Wood. Barrel Staves *Cwt. qrs. No.*	191 0 0	80 0 0	221 1 0	—	—	2,150 0 0	2,642 1 0	660 11 3
Wood. Deals . *Cwt. qrs. No.*	—	—	20 0 0	—	—	—	20 0 0	84 0 0
Wood. Plank . . . *Value.*	—	—	62 10 0	—	—	—	62 10 0	62 1 0
Wood. Timber . *Tons. Feet.*								
Wood. Wooden Ware *Value.*	—	—	1,806 10 0	—	—	490 0 0	2,296 10 0	2,296 10 0
Wool Cotton *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	19 2 14	176 0 7	1,345 0 21	89 0 14	—	1,453 1 0	3,083 1 0	12,333 0 0
Small Parcels in general *Value.*	4 7 0	—	0 10 0	—	—	—	4 17 0	4 17 0
						Rate of Value of Imports in 1790 . .	£.	169,563 8 10

No. VII. *continued.*

IMPORTS from the WEST INDIES into IRELAND.—Year ending Lady Day, 1791.

	Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
	Brass, Shruff *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
	Bullion . . . *Ounces.*								
	Chocolate . . . . *lbs.*								
	Coffee . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	296 2 21	—	—	112 0 0	408 2 21	4,086 17 6
	Copper-Plates and Bricks *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
	Drugs . . . . *Value.*	7 16 8	33 6 0	160 16 0	—	—	730 19 2	932 17 10	932 17 10
Dying Stuffs.	Fustic . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	200 0 0	—	420 0 0	—	—	1,260 0 0	1,880 0 0	1,316 0 0
Dying Stuffs.	Indigo . . . . *lbs.*								
Dying Stuffs.	Logwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	3,070 0 0	—	—	450 0 0	3,520 0 0	7,920 0 0
Dying Stuffs.	Redwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Dying Stuffs.	Sanders . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	34 0 0	34 0 0	204 0 0
Dying Stuffs.	Small Parcels . *Value.*	—	5 0 0	—	—	—	—	5 0 0	5 0 0
Groceries.	Anniseeds *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Groceries.	Cocoa Nuts . *lbs.*	—	192	316	—	—	8,073	8,581	429 1 0
Groceries.	Ginger . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	137 0 14	25 2 0	—	—	—	162 2 14	243 18 9
Groceries.	Pepper . . *Pounds.*	—	—	8	—	—	—	8	0 11 0
Groceries.	Piamento . *Pounds.*	—	—	8,415	—	—	—	8,415	420 15 0
Groceries.	Rice . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	114 1 14	114 1 14	114 7 6
Groceries.	Succard *Cwt qrs. lbs.*	68 0 0	—	457 0 0	—	—	497 0 0	1,022 0 0	153 6 0
Groceries.	Sugar, Muscavado *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	11,116 0 9	3,490 3 21	22,904 2 7	—	—	18,496 2 0	55,808 0 9	125,568 0 0
Groceries.	Small Parcels . *Value.*	5 10 10	2 16 6	19 18 2	—	—	42 2 4	70 7 10	70 7 10

continued.

——Year ending Lady Day, 1791, *continued.*——

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Hides, tanned . *Number.*								
Lime, Lemon, and O-Juice *Gallons.*	—	—	—	—	—	62	62	7 4 8
Molasses . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	315 1 0	315 1 0	472 17 6
Oranges and Lemons *Cwt. qrs. No*	10 0 0	1 0 0	32 0 0	—	—	7 0 0	50 0 0	6 5 0
Skins, Losh . . . *Numb.*	—	—	79	—	—	—	79	39 10 0
Spirits, Rum . *Gallons.*	39,425	11,343	249,884	3,318	—	135,414	439,384	43,938 8 0
Tar . . . . . *Barrels.*								
Tobacco . . . *Pounds.*								
Toys . . . . . *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	17 10 0	17 10 0	17 10 0
Wine, Port *Tuns. Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	21 3 10½	—	—	9 3 31	22 2 31	516 0 0
Wood. Barrel Staves *Cwt. qrs. No*	206 0 0	470 1 20	691 3 0	—	—	178 2 10	1,546 3 0	386 13 9
Wood. Deals . *Cwt. qrs. No.*								
Wood. Plank , . . *Value.*	10 0 0	—	69 10 0	—	—	—	79 10 0	79 10 0
Wood. Timber . *Tons, Feet*	—	—	—	—	—	10 0 0	10 0 0	27 10 0
Wood. Wooden Ware *Value.*	110 0 0	—	1,964 13 0	—	—	10,483 0 0	12,557 13 0	12,557 13 0
Wool, Cotton *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	194 0 0	97 3 0	2,348 0 14	294 3 21	—	1,785 2 21	4,720 2 0	18,882 0 0
Small Parcels in general *Value.*	192 17 6	—	—	—	—	—	192 17 6	192 17 6
						Value of Imports in 1791 . .	£.	218,589 1 10

No. VII. *continued.*

IMPORTS from the WEST INDIES into IRELAND.—Year ending Lady Day, 1792.

	Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
	Brass, Shruff *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
	Bullion . . . . *Ounces.*								
	Chocolate . . . . *lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	36	36	4 10 0
	Coffee . . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	2 1 7	390 2 25	—	—	270 2 13	663 2 17	6,636 8 7
	Copper Plates and Bricks *Cwt. qrs lbs.*	—	—	6 2 25	—	—	—	6 2 25	33 11 6
	Drugs . . . . *Value.*	3 1 8	34 5 0	321 3 3	—	—	99 13 1	458 3 0	458 3 0
Dying Stuffs.	Fustic . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	500 0 0	40 0 0	850 0 0	100 0 0	—	2,000 0 0	3,490 0 0	2,443 0 0
Dying Stuffs.	Indigo . . . , *lbs.*	—	—	530	—	—	—	530	176 13 4
Dying Stuffs.	Logwood *Cwt. qrs lbs.*	—	—	3,735 0 0	—	—	420 0 0	4,155 0 0	9,348 15 0
Dying Stuffs.	Redwood *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	340 0 0	340 0 0	680 0 0
Dying Stuffs.	Sanders *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Dying Stuffs.	Small Parcels . *Value.*	—	11 4 0	—	—	—	—	11 4 0	11 4 0
Groceries.	Anniseeds *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*								
Groceries.	Cocoa Nuts . . *lbs.*	—	—	600	—	—	1,344	1,944	97 4 0
Groceries.	Ginger . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	17 3 6	108 2 16	—	—	—	126 1 22	189 13 1
Groceries.	Pepper . . *Pounds.*	6	16	73	—	—	179	274	18 5 4
Groceries.	Piamento . *Pounds.*	—	—	13,132	—	—	552	13,684	669 4 0
Groceries.	Rice . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	482 1 7	—	—	—	—	—	482 1 7	482 6 3
Groceries.	Succard *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	59 0 0	153 0 0	249 0 0	10 0 0	—	293 0 0	764 0 0	114 12 0
Groceries.	Sugar, Muscavado *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	8,845 3 27	3,311 3 27	35,893 1 3	839 2 11	—	18,633 1 19	66,524 1 3	149,679 11 9
Groceries.	Small Parcels . *Value.*	21 9 2	3 3 4	21 9 5	0 10 0	—	72 0 4	118 12 3	118 12 3

continued.

——Year ending Lady-Day 1792, *continued.*——

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	St. Kitt's.	Tortola.	West Indies in general.	Total Quantity.	Rate of Value.
Hides, tanned . *Number.*	150	—	96	—	—	—	746	1,492 0 0
Lime, Lemon, and O-Juice *Gallons.*	—	—	—	—	—	275	275	32 1 8
Molasses . *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—	853 1 21	853 1 21	1,280 3 1
Oranges and Lemons *Cwt. qrs. No.*	35 0 0	0 1 20	28 0 0	—	—	1 0 0	64 1 20	8 1 0
Skins, Losh . . . *Numb.*	—	—	1,648	—	—	192	1,840	92 0 0
Spirits, Rum . *Gallons.*	48,032	6,264	195,698	—	—	131,040	381,034	38,103 8 0
Tar . . . . . *Barrels.*	—	19	—	—	—	—	19	11 8 0
Tobacco . . . *Pounds.*								
Toys . . . . , *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—	14 10 0	14 10 0	14 0 10
Wine, Port *Tuns. Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	47 1 1	—	—	8 0 23	55 1 24	1,320 0 0
Wood. Barrel Staves *Cwt. qrs. No.*	351 0 0	125 0 0	390 1 20	10 0 0	—	146 0 0	1,022 1 20	255 12 6
Wood. Deals . *Cwt. qrs. No.*								
Wood. Plank , . . *Value.*	—	—	75 0 0	—	—	—	75 0 0	75 0 0
Wood. Timber . *Tons, Feet.*								
Wood. Wooden Ware *Value.*	—	—	2,607 10 11	60 0 0	—	3,325 0 0	5,992 10 11	5,992 10 11
Wool, Cotton *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	22 2 4	44 2 20	649 3 17	120 0 0	—	632 3 14	5,880 0 0	1,469 3 27
Small Parcels in general *Value.*	2 0 0	—	53 5 0	—	—	1 4 0	56 9 0	56 9 0
						Value of Imports in 1792 . .	£.	225,774 14 3

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